DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 171 106 FL 010 093

AUTHOR Benseller, David P., Editor
TITLE Proceedings, Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages, Volume 28, Part 2: Second Language Teaching 77.
INSTITUTION Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages, Location Varies.
PUB DATE 77
NOTE 134p.; Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages (28th, Spokane, Washington, April 21-23, 1977)
AVAILABLE FROM PNCFL Publications, Dept. of Modern Languages, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana 59715 (for non-members, $7.50 plus shipping charges)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingual Education; Bilingualism; Cultural Awareness; *Cultural Education; Diachronic Linguistics; Dialects; European History; French; German; Instructional Aids; Interdisciplinary Approach; *Language Instruction; Language Laboratory Use; Language Tests; Linguistics; Linguistic Theory; Literature; Mexican Americans; Microteaching; Performance Based Teacher Education; Psychometrics; *Second Language Learning; Semantics; Sex Fairness; Spanish; *Study Abroad; Teacher Education; *Teaching Methods; Vocabulary Development

ABSTRACT

The twenty-eight papers that make up the second part of the proceedings of the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages cover a wide range of topics relating to foreign language teaching and linguistic theory: German culture and civilization; sexism in language; bilingual education; bilingualism and language assessment; French language, history and culture; foreign languages and international education; study abroad; Hispanic culture, history, literature and civilization; English loanwords in the Couxhobor dialect; an interdisciplinary linguistics program; historical development of languages; semantics; teaching culture; use of audio visual aids in vocabulary building; micro-teaching; using the radio; testing techniques; and developing teacher competencies. (AMH)

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ED171106

PROCEEDINGS

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Volume XXVIII, Part 2

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

APRIL 21-23, 1977

Second Language Teaching 77

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PUBLISHED AT OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY
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Volume twenty-eight of the PROCEEDINGS of the
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THOUGHTS FROM EUROPE ABOUT LEARNING A SECOND LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSROOM

Dale L. Lange
University of Minnesota

Having been a non-frustrated musician for almost my entire life to this point (I realized early on that I was neither a Sviatislav Richter nor a Fischer-Diskau), I thought I might organize the thoughts and ideas presented here in categories used in musical composition. One might liken what is being offered here to a Bach fugue (although the musical quality of this piece has nothing to do with the model). The prelude presents a statement which is introductory in nature; it situates the remarks which are to come. The complicated fugue which follows is organized by three major themes; the inter-relationship of language and culture, language learning, and language teaching. The exposition of the fugue allows for some manipulation of the themes; in this case some aspects of the themes will be examined in detail. Before the "work" ends there will be a return to the themes in a coda to provide you with something to take away for further thought.

Prelude

In order that my remarks have a context, it is important to keep in mind that the seeds for the discussion which follows were germinated in Europe, in Besançon, France, in travels in French and German speaking countries, in Scandinavia, in interactions with colleagues, friends, and relatives, in observation of members of my family in contact with others whose language was not English, and in watching the schooling of my children in another, yet similar culture. One further source of fertile ideas came from some of the reading that a single-quarter leave allowed me to do during my stay in France.

From June through December 1976, I was located for the most part in Besançon, France for two reasons: (1) to administer the University of Minnesota Summer Cultural Materials Work-In in France and (2) to carry out my part of an exchange between the University of Besançon and the University of Minnesota. With the University of Minnesota program, I worked with fourteen American teachers of French as they experienced French culture and as they wrote cultural materials to recreate some of their experiences for their own students. With the exchange, Georges Zask, the Director of the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée at the Université de Franch-Comté in Besançon, took my place at the University of Minnesota for one quarter while I filled in for him during his absence.

During these six months, I observed my wife and children in social and school situations as they were learning French, at summer camp, with friends, in school, at home, with the grocer and the baker, in the six-hour daily intensive program for learning French at the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée. There were also opportunities to observe and feel the need to have learned languages that we did not know as we traveled in Denmark, Sweden, and especially in Norway where understanding of relatives came largely through German. My wife and I spoke German to our relatives. They communicated to us in Norwegian which we understood because of its relationship to German. Those were interesting conversations, pregnant with meaning because we were all straining to give birth to our good will and to the feeling of joy in actually finding part of our family heritage. These moments will long be remembered because the language barrier actually served as a means for the deeper communication of kin with kin.

With these comments in mind, it will be possible for you to understand, in general at least, the context and the remarks which appear below.

Fugue: Main Themes

From these six months of interaction with language and cultures, French and German in particular, the following general statements seem germaine.

1. Let me first of all suggest what you already know, namely that English is currently an important language in the many areas of human interaction outside the English-speaking world. BUT, because it is only a carrier of information in this regard, it has not yet replaced and will not replace French, German, and other languages as the dominant language, the home, or identity language in countries where those languages are dominant. An important point here is that the home language is the identifier of the personality of the individual and his culture. English for my children in France was that language which allowed them to express their feelings, their ideas, particularly their frustrations with learning French, and with the quality and quantity of their interactions with French children, in short their adjustment to French culture. Were they not allowed to retain their own language and culture in the home, it is my feeling they would have become angry, hopelessly frustrated, and completely discouraged. But with the assurance that they could express themselves freely in English at home, they worked to learn and understand both the language and the culture of their momentarily adopted country. It was thus clear to the children that the motivation to learn the language resulted from the fact that the English most French people spoke was not sufficiently developed for them to communicate in English, and from the notion that if they were to relate to French people and children in particular they would have to learn this new language and how to behave in this culture. As a result of the experience, it became clear to all of us that language, culture, and personality are all part and parcel of the learning process.

2. In general terms, first language learning appears to be a developmental process. It has a beginning after which it continues throughout the life of the individual no matter how hard he tries to avoid it. In the beginning of this process, the individual learns to express its needs, feelings, and ideas, in other words its whole personality through the sounds, structure, syntax, and vocabulary of the language. Almost simultaneously it learns that in different social situations, different forms and expressions are appropriate depending on the specific situation. Thus throughout the interactive life of the individual, language use and variation continue to grow and shift depending on the many life factors in which he/she may be involved: job or profession, family, friends, acquaintances, reading material, religion, interaction with machines, and many others. If you think carefully about the development of your first language, you recognize how complicated it was to learn and how miraculous it was that you learned it. Cook,[1] in an article in 1969, has pointed out what appear to be rather wide discrepancies between first language learning in a natural setting and second language learning in the artificial setting of the classroom. She suggests, however, that the process (and, I shall add, the complexities) of language learning in this analogy may not be the same in both settings. Cook does suggest, however, that there may be an analogy between first and second language learning, but that the present methodology of second language teaching does not meet the requirements to fulfill the analogy. In order to suggest the complexity of language learning through some very simply stated, yet appropriate remarks related to the development of a method, I would like to give Cook's suggestions to complete the analogy. She indicates that: The method would have to: (a) allow the learner to progress by forming a series of increasingly complete hypotheses about the language; (b) it would have to permit and indeed encourage the learner to produce sentences that are ungrammatical in terms of full native competence in order to test the hypotheses; (c) it would have to emphasize the perception of patterns rather than the intensity of practice. It would thus have to provide teaching techniques that would include partial repetition of sentences, verbal play, and situationally appropriate expansions of the learner's sentences (see specifically page 216).

Even this statement, as simple as it may sound, presents, if one thinks about it carefully, language learning as being extremely complicated regardless of the learning situation, be it first or second language, be it in the country where that language is used naturally, or be it in the artificial atmosphere of the classroom where the language is being learned as an academic subject. In either case, it is clear that language learning, second language learning for the purposes of this presentation, is <u>developmental</u> and that such development involves the individual learner in a complex and complicated learning process.

3. It can be safely argued, I think, that language teaching is related to language learning. We arrange opportunities for our students to develop their use of the language through learning devices of all kinds: drills, simulations, games, programmed learning, computer assisted instruction, and the like. We supply cultural and language information to help students become consciously aware of both the people and the language they are learning. We inform them how people behave, how they react and interact; we tell them what the cultures are like, how people live, what they have written, sculpted, composed, and built. We talk about the rules of the language, how sounds and structure, words, and syntax are related. We suggest how people communicate, what and how they express what they intend to communicate. We choose the materials from which all of this is to be learned. We organize the learning context by writing objectives, deciding on evaluation procedures, developing learning units, and teaching in the classroom by means of strategies which appear to be useful in helping students reach the desired goal. Thus the role of the teacher is not any less complicated or less difficult than that of the learner. But, it is different.

Each of these three points constitutes a major theme. The themes have been mentioned to indicate that this whole "piece," going back to the analogy with the Bach fugue, namely second language acquisition, constitutes a set of interrelationships which, because of the complexities involved, are difficult to unravel. The solutions to the multiple problems of learning another language may be long in development and when they do finally appear they may be as complex as the set of problems which generated them.

<u>Fugue: Exposition</u>

Removed from the United States in terms of both time and space and living in another culture brought up the question, why do we learn languages? Why did I learn a second language? Why do Americans learn languages? These are difficult questions to answer in a word or with a single response for everybody. I could answer the question for myself without any difficulty. I know why I learned German. I wanted to become familiar with the heritage of my family. I learned French because I was intellectually curious about that vast literature and that important culture. The other general questions proved more difficult to answer or even to find answers to put into rank order. You are aware of the reasons for second language learning that are standard, I'm sure: travel, international understanding, career opportunities, and the like. Did you hear me include necessity? My children learned that in order to eat and drink, to make friends, to interact with my friends and their friends, in order to avoid appearing strange they had to learn French! Now I am fully aware that the more or less natural situation my kids found themselves in is different from the classroom setting. But, have your students found learning a language a necessity? Do they know how to find the "John," a meal, a room in which to sleep? Can they make a phone call? Can they understand a TV or radio broadcast? Can they describe a need, an opinion, or a frustration to a native user of the culture in his language? Can they explain similarities and contrasts between general United States or regional U.S. culture or subcultures? These questions relate to the oral modalities!

Can your students use the newspaper as a means of knowing where to get and receive medical help, how to find a room to rent, or to find out what the weather will be like tomorrow or to learn if the airport will be closed on Friday due to a general strike of all public transportation workers? Once your students have read the appropriate street signs to find their restaurant, can they read and understand the menu? Will they be able to choose something they can eat? Can they write a note telling that they paid a friend a visit when the friend wasn't home? Can they write a business letter in the language to obtain a youth hostel card after losing the U.S. card? These questions relate to the written modalities.

What I have done here in thinking about the purposes of language learning, and adding to those purposes that of necessity, is to suggest with this series of questions that perhaps one way to make the language come alive and to make language learning more meaningful would be to offer the introductory phase of language learning as a course in survival. The questions outline, in general, the parameters of such a program, but by no means the details, the materials, nor the amount of time. Such a "program" might be given, in my opinion, only in the languages, but if not, the program ought to reflect the necessity to use the language in any interaction.

This idea allows the student to begin to develop language use in a situational context that might be more real. If the realism of the situations is honest, the student might believe that he has and can use this new language to survive and perhaps even interact in this culture. It could be the basis for other kinds of development which relate to language, culture learning, and, by implication, teaching. These other kinds of developments are generated by the questions: (1) What realistic expectations can we have for development of a second language in school, college, or university setting? (2) How can the learner be helped in this development? (3) How can factual cultural information be more systematically used in a program of second language acquisition in a school setting?

In relating to the first question we must understand that second language learning is not an academic subject; we have made it one. It is and can be learned naturally without the formal structure of academia. Thousands of people in all parts of the world are learning second languages without the benefit of the classroom. One only has to look at the foreign workers from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece, and other countries in Germany or Spanish, Arab, or Portuguese workers in France to know that in their interactions on the job they must use German or French. They have learned the second language in a functional, natural way. Their learning relates to the job or function which they perform as foreign workers. With our students we have taken much of the naturalness out of the learning of the second language. Their second language development is hurried and harried. We expect too much too soon.

Let's look at some of the objectives typical of those we have written over the past twenty years. A student at the end of a four or five year program is supposed to be able to function in the language in the following ways. Listening: The students will understand a variety of speakers, speaking for an extended period of time in formal situations or under normal conditions of conversation; Speaking: The students will orally express and exchange ideas and make presentations of prepared subjects with authentic and appropriate language and adequate fluency; Reading: The student will read more extensively with understanding and enjoyment a variety of writing styles as found in contemporary and non-contemporary newspapers, magazines, poetry, plays, short stories, essays, and novels; they will make greater independent use of the reference materials provided in the textbooks, the classroom, and the resource center; Writing: The students will write at an advanced level, with legibility and grammatical correctness, based on their experience in language learning; they will be aware of and observe the conventions which distinguish formal writing from the informal spoken language; they will be able to write at length on a topic within their experience in a style acceptable to a native speaker.

I would be the last person to deny development in all four language modalities, but I think this set of objectives is, though not atypical, quite unrealistic. Since each school year consists of approximately 185 hours for second language learning, and since some programs are four years in length, we can estimate that approximately 750 hours of classtime would be available during the four years. If in addition one could count on 750 hours of study time, that would make a total of almost 1500 hours. I doubt that a student could reach these above goals even if we could provide the appropriate evaluation devices which we do not have. Certainly time is an important factor in any learning model, but in our exuberance to generate almost native-like users of the language we are expecting too much of time and of the students.

If our objectives are not realistic, what de we do to change them, you might ask. Unfortunately, objectives only state the desired end-product; they do not help at all with the means or the number and organization of tasks involved in achieving the objective.[2] Perhaps in order to create the necessary realism, it may be necessary for us to do some or all of the following:

1. State as completely as possible what we expect students to be able to do to reach a functional level in the use of the four modalities: listening, speaking, reading, writing.

2. Examine carefully the number and organization of the tasks involved by working backward through the tasks from the objective or end product to where the student begins his learning, hypothesizing and ordering the tasks he must complete as he works toward the objective.

3. Estimate an amount of time per task which allows development to take place, i.e., time which can be used for an understanding of the contribution or the task to the learning of the language as a

whole, as well as time for the student to practice and use the task in order to integrate it into what he can already perform.

4. Study the task in relationship to the time that may be needed, of course taking individual differences in motivation and other factors into account, and estimate how much time is needed for particular tasks or groups of tasks.

5. Organize the means, that is, materials and the learning environment, so that development may take place in a more natural way, allowing the reduction of student errors to serve as an indicator that the task has been learned to a particular level of satisfaction.

In theory these steps may make it possible for us to get a "handle" on second language development. The steps, though complicated, would force us to deal with language development which I believe we are more or less assuming. The burden of proof always seems to be on the student. In other words, we assume through our teaching that development has taken place when it may not have.

There may be yet another way, a more "simple" option, available to us in regard to expectations. That is to reduce them in number--let's say in half. Since time is so important and since the productive modalities of speaking and writing are much more difficult and time consuming to develop than the receptive modalities of listening and reading, we might pursue the development of the listening and reading modalities as being primary. The modalities of speaking and writing would be developed at the request of the students or would be allowed to be developed in a natural way without a specific plan for stimulating them. Such a plan would allow the student to produce language for relationship to his own needs without being forced.

At this point I would like to turn the discussion of expectations to make a short comment on the development of Communicative Competence! It appears to me that on top of all of the concerns of language development which really leads to that point where the learner uses the language to interact in the second culture, that a new layer of objectives is being suggested or that a new fad may be in the making. As you can see, it is not the idea of developing language to use it for interacting with language stimuli in the second culture, be it written or oral, that I question. It appears that communicative competence seems to add "something" to language development which burdens an already heavy enough load. The concern is the "something." I am not concerned with the kinds of activities suggested by Zelson[3] which relate to development of language use, but rather with the values clarification, expressing one's innermost thoughts kind of exercise as Godrey's[4] "Who Shall Live?" article in Foreign Language Annals where students express their preferences for whom shall live after an atomic bomb attack in a situation where seven unanimously agreed upon survivors must be chosen. While I have selected a controversial example, it is that example which generates the concern. To be sure we may want to develop the student's ability to express himself in the second language, to indicate his reactions, needs, maybe even frustrations, in order to interact in the culture, but how far do we do with that expression? The concept of values clarification as a means for generating the expression of the student's values as he experiences the second culture may be useful to his language development. But the focus of such exercises tends to be concentrated more on the student and his reactions than on the world outside of the student. Herein for me lies the necessity, the signal caution, for three reasons: (1) the limits of reasonable clarification of values for the very changeable adolescent mind have not been suggested; (2) some of the exercises in values clarification and communication border on psychological probing; (3) teachers have not received any special training to handle values clarification. I do not wish to be misunderstood in this case. Communication and values clarification, though not inextricably linked together, are related. Since they may be useful in second language development, they need definition and limitation for use in the classroom.

Some work is being done by the Council of Europe which may relate to these concepts. René Richterich[5] has developed an extensive statement or model which attempts to be exhaustive in its definition of the categories and elements of language and context which interact when language is being used in a natural setting. He looks at the identity, the number, and the social, psychological, and language roles of what he calls agents or users of language. Time factors are also important in the model: time of day, frequency of interaction, length of interaction, and events prior to, during, and subsequent to language use are all considered. Place, namely geographical location, indoors, outdoors in public, private, or work contexts fit into this model as well as surroundings, including family, friends, and many other situations such as profession and holidays. Most important Richterich lists the functions and objects of language operations. I want to present these functions and objects of language because I think they speak directly to my previous statements. There is a definition of communication presented in the statements below from which concrete learning and language development tasks could be organized.

Functions of Language

(1) Expression/exchange (communication for the purposes of conveying a message of some kind); (2) Description/explanation (communication for the purpose of illustrating, representing or conveying understanding or knowledge of something); (3) Argumentation/persuasion (communication for the purpose of proving, convincing, winning an argument); (4) Designation/statement (communication for the purpose of calling a person to witness something); (5) Evocation/narration (communication for the purpose of causing something from the past to appear); (6) Request/order (communication in order to obtain something); (7) Poetry/entertainment (communication for the pleasure and beauty of communicating); (8) Translation/interpretation (communication in another language of something that already exists in one language).

Objectives of Language

(1) Information/notification (communication relates to a neutral message); (2) Sentiment/emotion (communication relates to an affective state); (3) Attitude/behavior (communication relates to a given attitude, reaction or form of moral or physical behavior); (4) Idea/opinion (communication relates to what is thought or believed); (5) Action/fact (communication relates to past, present, or future events); (6) Contact/relation (communication serves to establish, maintain, or break social ties created by language); (7) Animate/inanimate (communication relates directly to a person, an animal, or a thing).

The attention to definition and completeness makes these statements more useful than those of values clarification and communication because it is clear that a much wider range of language use is being considered in this model.

This above discussion was intended to make us all more aware of the necessity to make the expectations we have for language learners more reasonable and realistic. Let us examine next how the learner can be helped in his development of the second language, the second question.

In dealing with the second question, I would like to discuss the concept of error for a moment. Native speakers of French make errors as they speak and write their language; indeed, they make the same kinds of errors that non-native learners of French do, only the frequency of the errors is different. Rémy Porquier at the University of Besançon,[6] in a study comparing errors of non-native speakers of French with studies of errors committed by native users of the language, found items like the following:

Francophones	non-Francophones
(des) près de les soldats	beaucoup de les medicins
(ouvert, couvert) on a ouvri	Ils ont couvri
(avoir-a) Il est disparu	il est disparu

What does this finding mean and what might be the implications of error for the second language classroom? To me the finding is a positive one. It says that Frenchmen too are human. Beyond that statement, and here I do not wish to get into a theoretical discussion of error analysis (Schumann and Stenson, 7), the finding does have significant meaning.

It suggests first of all that language error occurs because people are not machines. But error occurs primarily because a language learning process either has functioned or is still functioning for the learner. The rules resulting from this process are then applied to the generation and production of language. The production of few systematic errors then would tend to suggest that the learner may have learned to control the rule governed behavior of the language. This is a definite oversimplification of the several statements on the significance of error production in second language learning, but it is sufficient for our purposes here. What are then the implications of error for the second language classroom?

If error is evidence of a language learning process, then we as teachers may need to change our outlook on error. Much of the teaching-learning material in textbooks and many of the strategies used in classroom learning activities are specifically designed to avoid the generation of error. The three and four phase drills of the so-called audio-lingual (A-L) approach were designed to "hammer in" the correct response. Further, students were not allowed to use language for any purpose in a unit of any A-L materials until they had error-free control of the drills. Constant and immediate correction of the student was considered a must in order to avoid further error. If we consider error as being an indication of the progress a student has made toward the ultimate goal of control over the language then some of our teaching strategies will change. (1) We will back away from the perfection of our objectives "like the native speaker" and let the student develop a concommitance with the "native speaker": if he is able and if he desires to do so. (2) With the analysis of language functions and objects discussed by Richterich we have a fuller awareness of the use of language. Students should be given perhaps a broader range of opportunities to use language freely as naturally as possible almost from the beginning of their second language learning experiences. I watched my children in France develop a limited though useful proficiency in French; that proficiency was due in part to an immediate application of the language rules as they hypothesized them in a natural situation, in school and out. (3) Students should have the benefit of our examination of their systematic errors. This does not necessarily mean immediate or negative feedback; it means acting as an observer and calmly informing the learner of what may be an incorrect assumption concerning the working of the language. The feedback must be given without any reflection on either the personality or capability of the individual. (4) The climate of the situation should allow the student to know that error is part of learning the language and that systematic review of his errors will help him understand what he has learned and what he has yet to learn. He would then ask the necessary questions about language use and structure as he needed the answers.

There are implications of the change in attitude towards error that would also be reflected in language learning materials and in testing. Language learning materials would be organized around situations, contain less drill material, offer more opportunity to use the language in realistic life situations. Language elements, many culture elements, and factors related to communication in the language would all be brought together as the learner progresses toward control over the language. Testing as a threat or external motivator could no longer exist. The test would be purely an opportunity for the student to show what he knows as he moves toward meeting the objectives of his learning program. The

results of the test would confirm what he knows and show him what to continue working on. This kind of approach to the student and his language learning behavior may make learning not only more enjoyable, but certainly more natural.

Now for the third question. How can factual cultural information be more systematically and more meaningfully used in a program of second language acquisition in a school setting? It has been my perception of my colleagues in my home institution that although the teaching and learning of culture in the second language classroom has improved in recent years with culture capsules, culture clusters, minidramas, culture assimilator episodes, and the like, much of cultural learning still deals with the facts of the culture. We sought far more comprehensive ways of dealing with culture so that we might more carefully relate to the statement of objectives which discusses learning about culture as a means of understanding others as well as better understanding ourselves. In short, we were seeking a process which would allow us to include factual information, but not exclusively. We also had a feeling that factual learning only was not successful in meeting the stated goals of intercultural understanding. Success in this case was defined as the student's need to see the necessity for changing his attitudes toward the second culture. In order to achieve success we felt we had to develop or use a process which we could argue was relatively objective. The need to see the necessity for changing attitudes toward the second or other culture is the student's need, thus the process is student oriented. The teacher need not be the repository of all information about the second culture, only a source to help students find information. In thinking about the process we could use, we turned to the scientific method which we modified slightly. We have labeled it "Hypothesis Refinement." Let me describe the process and the context in which it is currently being used.

This process is currently being used in a course called "Strategies for the Teaching of Culture in the Second Language Classroom" which is a graduate level course for both pre- and in-service teachers of French, Spanish, German, Hebrew, and U.S. cultures at all levels. In the course, among other strategies reviewed and practiced, hypothesis refinement plays a role in the training of teachers since it is they who offer culture as part of an instructional program in their language. Because this process is still considered in its development, it has not been tested in classrooms with students although many teachers in the course are using it with students. Here are the steps or components of the process that we are currently using.

Perception (awareness)	I.	Perception of or questions about an aspect of culture as exhibited in learning materials, teacher presentation or other sources.
Statement of Hypothesis	II.	Student makes a statement about the culture as a result of the perception or in answer to the question that was raised. This is the initial hypothesis. It may be very simple; it may reflect stereotypic thinking and often does, but the statement is accepted as true for the moment for that student because it is based on the informa- he currently possesses.
Information Gathering	III.	This step relates to information gathering. Students are asked to seek multiple sources of information as they seek information either to confirm or reject their original statement. They look to the different media, both the print and non-print media, books, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, film as well as native speakers when available.
Reporting and Describing	IV.	In reporting and describing what he found, the student examines his data for potential limitations such as publication date, intended audience, and purpose of the "document." Then he describes what he actually found, reporting the details as he found them.
Analysis	V.	In this step the student analyzes what he found. He looks for patterns that are similar; he looks for patterns which are contradictory; he identifies those patterns which are unique. He reviews this analysis in light of his original hypothesis.
Hypothesis Confirmed or Rejected	VI.	If the hypothesis is confirmed it will obviously not be modified. If it is rejected it must be restated or refined. In most of the cases we have seen to date, the hypothesis is refined into several hypotheses. In that case there is a re-entry at step three and repetition of steps III, IV, V, and VI.

The following is an example of the process as it might be applied in a French classroom (Lange, 8).

STEP I: Students perceive an aspect of culture through learning materials, teacher presentation, or other source.	Students remark that French teenagers seem to be riding bikes, motorcycles, and other two-wheeled vehicles more often than driving cars in films they have seen.
STEP II: Students make a statement about the culture as a result of this perception.	Resulting statement: French teenagers seem to use bikes, cycles, and motorbikes more than they use cars.
STEP III: Students seek multiple sources for information related to the statement, such as newspapers, movies, slides, books, as well as	Students look through sample textbooks and readers available in the classroom and find many pictures of young people on bikes. There is a dialogue about a "motocyclette" as well. In addition, a teen magazine shows many ads and pictures of Solexes, Motobécanes, and other "mopeds."

other media, realia, and native speakers.	But prices quoted seem very high. A contest announced a Vespa as a grand prize. A French newsmagazine in the classroom has a feature about traffic accidents on autoroutes, however, and indicates that many more cars than two-wheeled vehicles have been involved in accidents. There are very low casualty figures for teenagers, too. A few students report that their penpals have bikes and no cars, and that they have only a single car for the entire family. Most penpals indicate that they walk to school or use public transportation (usually buses). A student reports on a TV news item indicating that gasoline is four times as expensive in Europe as in the U.S.; in discussing that fact the class agrees that this may be an important factor in the materials they have found.
STEP VI: Students question and compare their sources, examining them for potential limitations, such as publication date, intended audience, and purpose of the document. a. They describe and report their findings. b. They analyze the findings.	Students agree that all the sources at their disposal seem to show that teenaged auto and other motorized vehicle ownership is rare in France. They are most impressed by evidence in letters from widely-scattered penpals and the fact that gasoline is so expensive in Europe. Their penpals have discussed their allowances and pocket money, also, and given high prices for vehicles, they feel it is unlikely that many teens can afford them. They agree that teenagers depicted in the textbooks and movies might not be as believable because such sources are less recent and may thus be less representative of everyday life.
STEP V: Students modify the statement, continue to seek additional information, and further refine the statement.	They agree on the following generalizations: (1) it is probable that teenagers in France drive bikes, motorcycles, and mopeds more frequently than they do cars. But such vehicles seem expensive and may be difficult for teens to purchase as a result. (2) Gasoline is very expensive and may contribute to less use of motorized vehicles. (3) Since many families seem to have only one car it is less likely that teens can take the car as frequently as they might like. (4) Most French teenagers probably walk or use public transportation instead of vehicles.
STEP VI: Students examine a related feature of their own culture using the same process.	Students state that many American teenagers seem to own cars and other vehicles. They seek confirmation in magazine ads, newspapers, and on TV. They poll their own and another class informally. Many magazines show such a possibility. But in their school (in a small town) they find that few teens own cars unless they have a job, although many occasionally drive the family car. A few families have two cars, but teens usually use the car only at night or on weekends. Many have friends in a neighboring large suburban school, who say that many students own cars and motorcycles, however. They decide that in some families teenagers drive cars frequently, though not as often in small towns like their own. TV and movies tend to show a more "ideal" life, and do not seem to reflect their own situations very accurately.
STEP VII: Students compare their refined statements about their own and the other culture, describing similarities and differences.	The situation in their own town does not seem to be very different from that seen in French life. More of their families seem to own cars than do French families, however, and some of them have two cars. Because they have occasional access to a car at night or on weekends, they feel teen drivers may be more common in the U.S. than in France. French students must like to talk about and read about cars and cycles in magazines, though, just as they do. Students wonder whether the age at which students may begin driving is much later and will seek this information.

The entire process may take about ten to fifteen minutes on each of three days, and the students do some seeking of information as homework. The teacher asks questions about the process by which students are examining generalizations and suggests source materials.

The use of the process is obvious, namely that it forces the student to commit himself to a perception which he must accept or reject based on the information he has found and interpreted. But there is one other use toward which this process can be turned. It can be used to examine a similar cultural phenomenon within one's own culture using Steps I-VI. Once the process has been applied to one's own culture regarding the same or similar phenomena, the student can compare his refined hypothesis concerning the second culture with that of his own culture, examining the two for similarities, contrasts, and anomilies. It is the application of the process to the one's own culture after having examined the second culture which allows the student's learning to relate to the understanding of a second culture and a better understanding of his own.

While the ultimate goal of this process is to understand others as well as ourselves, there are at least three secondary outcomes which result from the process. (1) Students learn to deal in a relatively objective fashion with one kind of problem, namely relating to another, but the process may be transportable and applicable to other questions/problems which may require a similar treatment, namely the understanding of their own culture. (2) Students may become more critical of the sources and the kinds of information they consume. (3) Finally, students may become aware that initial impressions or stereotypes are consciously not to be trusted until more information is available. We see many benefits to the use of this process. But we are aware of the difficulties of finding and interpreting the gathered information in Steps III and IV. Even though there are problems we think that the approach has sufficient merit to begin its evaluation in classrooms in secondary schools and colleges.

Summary

Having completed the exposition of the themes, I am moving toward the final phrase. The key to language learning has not yet been found. I hope that you will consider my remarks as useful in that discovery. Reasonable expectations for language development, use of error in that development, and the role of culture learning are all part of the key. Let us hope that when the key is found these three elements will help us at least fit the key into the lock.

Notes

[1]Vivian J. Cook, "The Analogy Between First and Second Language Learning," IRAL, 7 (1969), pp. 207-16.

[2]Robert I. Wise, "The Use of Objectives in Curriculum Planning: A Critique of Planning by Ojectives," Curriculum Theory Network, 5 (1976), pp. 280-89.

[3]Sidney N. J. Zelson, "A Relevant Curriculum: Linguistic Competence and Communicative Competence = Proficiency," Teaching for Communication in the Foreign Language Classroom: A Guide for Building the Modern Curriculum, ed. Renate A. Schulz (Skokie, IL: National Textbook Co., 1976), pp. 18-32.

[4]Gary M. Godfrey, "Who Shall Live?" Foreign Language Annals, 10 (1977), pp. 47-51.

[5]René Richterich, "A Model for the Definition of Language Needs for Adults," Systems Development in Adult Language Learning (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Cooperation, Council of Europe, 1973), pp. 31-88.

[6]Rémy Porquier, "Analogie, généralisation et systèmes intermédiares dans l'apprentissage d'une langue non-maternell," BULAG, 3 (1975), pp. 37-63.

[7]New Frontiers in Second Language Learning, ed. John H. Schumann and Nancy Stenson (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1974).

[8]Dale L. Lange, ed., Essential Learner Outcomes for Modern Languages: Foundation Learnings (St. Paul, MN: State Department of Education, In Press).

DIE HEUTIGEN PROBLEME DER RAETOROMANISCHEN SPRACHE

Anton Andereggen
University of Portland

Als in der Zeit zwischen dem ersten und dem zweiten Weltkrieg in Italien eine Bewegung das Rätoromanische zum italienischen Dialekt erklärte und daraus einen Anspruch Italiens auf das italienische und rätoromanische Sprachgebiet der Schweiz ableitete, erkannten die Rätoromanen die drohende Gefahr. Sie erreichten 1938 in einer denkwürdigen Abstimmung, dass das Schweizervolk das Rätoromanische ausdrücklich als vierte Landessprache anerkannte.[1] Dies bedeutete den Höhepunkt einer Bewegung, die man allgemein als die romanische Renaissance bezeichnet. Sie krönte die Anstrengungen, die während rund hundert Jahren von den Romanen unternommen wurden, um ihre Sprache innerlich zu festigen und ihr äusserlich ein Ansehen zu verschaffen, das sie nie zuvor besessen hatte. Wie andere Nationen sich um eine einzelne Sprache kristallisiert haben, so besteht der schweizerische Staatsgedanke gerade umgekehrt im Bekenntnis zur Zusammenarbeit verschiedener linguistischer Gruppen.[2] Das Romanische ist die einzige Nationalsprache der Schweiz im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes. Die in den Alpentälern des Kantons Graubünden entwickelten romanischen Schriftsprachen werden in keinem anderen Land gebraucht, im Gegensatz zu den anderen Landessprachen, die ihre Schwerpunkte ausserhalb der schweizerischen Grenzen haben. Man legt sich aber im allgemeinen wenig Rechenschaft davon ab, unter welch harten Existenzbedingungen das Romanische nach wie vor zu kämpfen hat. Es ist das Ziel meiner Studie, diese Existenzbedingungen näher zu betrachten.

Das Verbreitungsgebiet der rätoromanischen Sprache ist seit dem 16. Jahrhundert bis vor etwa hundert Jahren ziemlich unverändert geblieben. Ein Zeichen für die ausserordentliche Stabilität der Verhältnisse ist die starke Aufsplitterung in Dialekte, was immer ein Beweis dafür ist, dass die Bevölkerung nicht fluktuierte. Es gibt kein Romanisch an sich, sondern nur eine Anzahl Idiome. Man wird einwenden können, das Deutsche bestehe auch aus einer grossen Anzahl von Mundarten. Aber über allen dehnt sich doch die umfassende hochdeutsche Schriftsprache. In der Romantschia gibt es aber fünf Schriftsprachen, die sich regional ausgebildet haben:[3]

Surselvisch Sutselvisch Surmeirisch	Mittelbündnerisch
Oberengadinisch Unterengadinisch	Ladinisch

Die beiden ladinischen Idiome sind so nahe verwandt, dass beide Schriftsprachen im ganzen Engadin gelesen werden. Auch das grundlegende Wörterbuch berücksichtigt beide Idiome gleichermassen.

Um diese Merkwürdigkeit von fünf verschiedenen Schriftsprachen verstehen zu können, muss man sich vier Dinge von Augen halten: 1. die Geographie: Die Hauptmundartgebiete Graubündens sind durch hohe Berge getrennt. 2. das Fehlen eines Zentrums: Als man im 16. Jahrhundert Romanisch zu schreiben begann, erlag das Kulturzentrum Chur der Germanisation. 3. die politisch-konfessionelle Entwicklung: Dem lokalen Selbstbewusstsein des Bündners widersprach es, die ureigene Muttersprache zugunsten einer Schriftsprache, die in einer anderen Gegend beheimatet war, aufzugeben. Als die Glaubensspaltung im 16. Jahrhundert alle anderen kulturellen Interessen überwucherte, suchte man sich sogar auch im Sprachlichen absichtlich vom Andersgläubigen abzugrenzen. Damals entstanden für das Surselvische zwei Orthographien, die erst in dieser Generation wieder eliminiert wurden. 4. die starke Verschiedenheit der Dialekte: Zwischen den Hauptschriftsprachen, dem Surselvischen und dem Engadinischen, sind die Unterschiede so gross, dass ihre Vertreter sich nur nach einiger Übung überhaupt verstehen können. Wenn man die sprachliche Entwicklung historisch, geographisch und linguistisch studiert, versteht man vollkommen, dass es zu dieser gefährlichen Zersplitterung kommen musste.[4]

Das Romanische ist aus einem eigenwüchsigen Provinzlatein entstanden. Neben dem vulgärlateinischen Grundstock und einigen vorromanischen Reliktwörtern aus der Alpwirtschaft weist es viele deutsche Lehnwörter auf. Daneben kann man lateinischen Wörtern begegnen, die in den Schwestersprachen ausgestorben sind; eine wahre Goldgrube für den Philologen. Der starke Einfluss des Deutschen erklärt sich leicht aus dem geographischen Faktum. Alle romanischen Täler öffnen sich in deutsches Sprachgebiet hinein, so dass das Deutsche die primäre Verkehrssprache der Romanen wurde. Das Deutsche hatte auch den Vorzug, dass es schon im Mittelalter eine voll entwickelte Kanzleisprache besass.

In der Kantonsverfassung Graubündens von 1892 sind die drei Sprachen des Kantons (Deutsch, Italienisch und Romanisch) als Landessprachen gewährleistet. Dies gibt dem Romanischen den Rang einer Vewaltungs-, Gerichts-, Schul- und Kirchensprache. Auf eidgenössischem Boden wurde 1848 bei der Ausarbeitung der Bundesverfassung das Romanische übersehen. Immerhin wurden aber 1872 und 1874 die Revisionen der Bundesverfassung vor der Volksabstimmung in den zwei romanischen Hauptidiomen auf Kosten des Bundes gedruckt. Wenn also die Eidgenossenschaft auch schon früher das Rätoromanische respektiert hat, so vergingen doch 90 Jahre nach der Gründung des Bundesstaates, bis dieser die "Quarta Lingua" offiziell durch die Volksabstimmung von 1938 als Landessprache anerkannte. Es gibt jedoch kein offizielles Dokument, in dem niedergelegt wäre, welches eigentlich das Gebiet der romanischen Sprache ist, wo ihre Herrschaft unumstritten zu gelten hat. Während die deutsch-französische und deutsch-italienische Sprachgrenzen seit Jahren administrativ fixiert sind, besteht in Graubünden auf weite Strecken keine eigentliche Sprachfront mehr. Zum Beispiel auf der Strecke Chur - St. Moritz wechseln prozentual mehr

oder weniger romanische Gemeinden mit prozentual mehr oder weniger deutschen Gemeinden ab. Die Gemeinden, die in Graubünden ausgesprochen autonom sind, können nach Gutdünken von heute auf morgen statt des romanischen Schulplanes den deutschen Schulplan einführen, wenn zum Beispiel durch eine industrielle Anlage die deutsche Einwohnerzahl steigt und allmählich 50% überschreitet.[5]

In anderen Sprachgebieten der Schweiz wären solche Umstellungen nicht möglich. Wenn zum Beispiel in einem italienisch sprechenden Tessiner Dorf sich eine grosse Anzahl Deutschschweizer niederlässt, so werden die Schul-, Kirchen- und Verwaltungssprache trotzdem italienisch bleiben.[6] Anders in Romanischbünden, das nicht das Prestige eines grossen Kulturgebietes gleicher Zunge im Ausland hinter sich hat und wo nur zu leicht das Romanische dem viel "nützlicheren" Deutschen weicht. Die Situation wäre anders, wenn das als romanisch anerkannte Gebiet von Staates wegen gewissermassen als "romanische Zone" erklärt werden könnte. Dann würden die aus der deutschen Schweiz zuziehenden Ansiedler viel eher die Landessprache erlernen und sich mit der Zeit in die romanische Volksgemeinschaft einfühlen. Ob und wie weit eine solche staatliche Regelung in bezug auf die rätoromanische Sprachlandschaft möglich wäre, bleibt der Zukunft überlassen. Tatsache ist, dass heute bestimmte gefährdete Gebiete (Oberengadin und Mittelbünden) der Germanisierung nicht mehr lange standhalten können. Das romanische Sprachgebiet, das heute noch zusammenhängt, droht in die Blöcke Unterengadin, Oberhalbstein und Surselva auseinanderzufallen, die in ihrer Isolierung immer mehr umrandet würden. Das Romanische kann sich leider nicht auf ein allseitig anerkanntes Territorialprinzip stützen, das den andern drei Landessprachen zugute kommt. Wir haben also den eigentümlichen Fall vor uns, dass das Romanische als Landessprache anerkannt und sogar garantiert ist, dass es aber kein Territorium besitzt. Dies ist für seinen Bestand ausserordentlich gefährlich. Man wird nicht darumkommen, diese Frage zu lösen, sonst kann zum Beispiel die Errichtung einer einzigen Fabrik in einem Dorf eine jahrhundertealte Sprachgrenze zum Einsturz bringen. Während in den anderen Sprachgebieten die fremdsprachigen Zuwanderer in den meisten Fällen assimiliert werden, versagt diese Assimilationskraft in Romanischbünden. Dies hat zwei Gründe; der eine liegt darin, dass die romanische Sprache für einen auf das Praktische bedachten Menschen nicht den gleichen Anreiz zur Erlernung bietet wie die grossen Kultursprachen, die sonst in der Schweiz verbreitet sind. Der andere liegt bei den Romanen selbst, die dem Zugezogenen sprachlich in jeder Weise entgegenkommen. Falsch verstandene Höflichkeit und ein gewisses Minderwertigkeitsgefühl gegenüber den grossen Kulturesprachen der Nachbarn verleiten den Romanen immer wieder zu Konzessionen, die sich zum Nachteil seiner eigenen Sprache auswirken. Mangels einheimischer Kräfte sind der Arzt, der Tierarzt, der Förster und der Grenzwächter im romanischen Dorfe deutschsprechend und bilden eine sozial bessergestellte Schicht. Dies steigert den Inferioritätskomplex der Romanen. Dazu kommt der Aufschwung der Hostellerie, der Industrie und des Kraftwerkbaus, die das kompakte Siedlungsgebiet der Romanen durchlöchern. Ein anderes Element, das Besorgnis erregt, ist die Verschlechterung der Proportionen. Gesamtschweizerisch umfassten die Romanen 1880 noch 14% der Wohnbevölkerung, 1970 aber nur noch 8%.[7] Im Vergleich zum gesamten Schweizervolk schrumpft also das Häuflein der Rätoromanen immer mehr zusammen. Dies erschwert den Existenzkampf der Romanen erheblich, um so mehr als die Deutschsprachigen nicht nur innerhalb des deutschen Siedlungsgebietes zunehmen, sondern auch in den romanischen Gebieten, wo die Infiltration immer stärker wird.

Wenn wir zunächst von den Gebieten absehen, wo schon die Primarschule ganz verdeutscht ist, so stellt sich doch auch für den Romanen der sogenannten gesunden Gebiete die Lage so dar, dass er sich dem starken und täglichen Einfluss des Deutschen nicht entziehen kann. Die gesamte höhere Schulung erfährt er auf deutsch. Schon in den oberen Klassen der Primarschule und in der Sekundarschule ist das Deutsche Unterrichtssprache. Alle Fachbücher sind in dieser Sprache verfasst, alle Tageszeitungen, alle Fachorgane und das Radio und Fernsehen sind deutsch. Täglich fliesst so ein Strom von gedruckten und gesprochenen Worten in einer Fremdsprache ins romanische Haus. Die Folge davon ist eine aktive Zweisprachigkeit, die auf das Romanische eine katastrophale Auswirkung hat. Es fing damit an, dass man für solche Begriffe, für die ein romanisches Wort fehlte, das deutsche Wort benutzte, d.h. vor allem für die endlose Zahl von Ausdrücken der modernen Technik wie Schalter, Anlasser, Kotflügel, Abfahrtsrennen, Schnittmuster, Lippenstift, usw. Nun aber kommt es allmählich soweit, dass auch für gute romanische Wörter die deutschen Entsprechungen gebraucht werden. Im Gegensatz zur früheren allmählichen Aufnahme deutscher Lehnwörter werden die deutschen Allerweltswörter aus dem modernen Leben nicht mehr assimiliert. Lautlich klingen diese wie eigentliche Fremdkörper. Der Einfluss des Deutschen greift auch schon auf die Aussprache über. Verschiedene Sprachwissenschafter beklagen sich darüber, dass die Trennung von stimmhaften und stimmlosen Konsonanten vielfach nicht mehr sauber eingehalten wird. Dies bedeutet eine Unterwanderung und Aushöhlung der romanischen Sprache, die sie dem Kollaps nahebringt.

In der heutigen Zeit, wo die Druckerpresse mit ihren Massenauflagen dominiert und in einer Situation, da das Romanische in einem Abwehrkampf auf Leben und Tod steht, ist das Fehlen einer einheitlichen Schriftsprache ein Nachteil, der letal wirken kann. Der Kanton Graubünden muss die Fibeln für seine ABC-Schützen in nicht weniger als sechs Sprachen drucken lassen, nämlich Deutsch, Italienisch, Surselvisch, Surmeirisch, Oberengadinisch und Unterengadinisch. Presse, Literatur und Lehrmittle können sich bei der extremen sprachlichen Kleinräumigkei der Romantschia nicht entfalten.[8] Die Lia Rumantscha, eine Dachvereinigung, der alle romanischen Regionalvereinigungen angeschlossen sind, verfügt über keine Arbeitssprache.[9] Sogar ihren eigenen Namen muss sie regelmässig in den verschiedenen Dialektformen angeben. Ein Redner, der eine aus Romanen verschiedener Dialektgebiete gemischte Zuhörerschaft vor sich hat, weiss nicht, wie er sie anreden soll.

Diese aufgeführten wachsenden Gefahren weckten den Widerstandsgeist vieler Romanen. Junge Leute aus der Romantschia holten sich an Schweizer Universitäten den Doktorhut, indem sie ihre Muttersprache erforschten. Viele Dorfmundarten und Sprachlandschaften wurden in Monographien dargestellt. Auch

schriftsprachliche Grammatiken sind seither herausgekommen, die als Handbücher dienen. Man ist sogar daran, den gesamten romanischen Wortschatz aller Dialekte zu sammeln und zu erklären. Auf den Abschluss des Gesamtwerkes wird man wohl bis zum Jahre 2000 warten müssen.

Die heutige Lage des Romanischen ist gemischt aus erfreulichen und aus besorgniserregenden Elementen. Hat der in Graubünden gegenwärtig systematisch geführte Kampf um die Erhaltung der romanischen Sprache irgendeine Aussicht auf Erfolg? Lässt sich die romanische Sprache überhaupt noch retten, oder ist sie rettungslos dem Aussterben verfallen? Meine Studie hat versucht, die wesentlichen Bausteine herauszuschälen. Es bleibt dem verten Zuhörer überlassen, ob er das Gesamtbild für deprimierend oder hoffnungserweckend hält. Gewiss ist, dass die romanische Sprache von der Entschlossenheit der Romanen selber abhängt. Zur Erhaltung ihrer Sprache müssen sie einen hohen Preis bezahlen. Diesem steht jedoch auch ein hoher Lohn gegenüber. Er heisst Achtung vor sich selbst, ein stolzes Selbstbewusstsein und die Rettung alter, unwiederbringlicher Kulturgüter.

Notes

[1]Carl Doka, Les quatre langues nationales de la Suisse (Zürich: Pro Helvetia, 1973), p. 6.

[2]Carl Doka, La Suisse--aspects sociaux, culturels et politiques (Zürich: Pro Helvetia, 1972), pp. 6-7.

[3]Jon Pult, Die rätoromanische Schweiz (Zürich: Pro Helvetia, 1970), p. 2.

[4]Rätoromanisch (Handbuch für das Studium der Romanistik); die Sonderstellung des Rätoromanischen zwischen Italienisch und Französisch; eine kulturgeschichtliche und linguistische Einführung (München: Beck, 1975), pp. 55-103.

[5]Georg Thürer, Les communes suisses--droit de cité et autonomie (Zürich: Pro Helvetia, 1970), pp. 2-3.

[6]Doka, Les quatre langues, p. 8.

[7]Andrî Peer, Le rhéto-romanche (Zürich: Pro Helvetia, 1972), p. 4.

[8]Bulletin: Embassy of Switzerland, Office of the Scientific Attaché to the Swiss Embassies in Washington and Ottawa, 16 (March 1976), p. 82.

[9]Pult, pp. 2-3.

DIE SCHULE UND DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER SOZIALISTISCHEN PERSÖNLICHKEIT IN DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK

Harriet P. O'Swald
Eastern Washington State College

Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik, ein deutschsprachiges Land wie die Bundesrepublik, Oesterreich und der grösste Teil der Schweiz, wird als souveräner Staat heute international anerkannt, unterhält ein Konsulat in Washington D.C. und ist in der UNO vertreten. Trotzdem ist dieser Staat immer noch relativ unbekannt in den USA. Die Textbücher im Deutschunterricht z.B. enthalten, wenn überhaupt, ein Minimum an Information über die DDR. Insbesondere das Gebiet, das uns Lehrer und unsere Studenten direkt angeht, ist nur wenig bekannt: das Schulsystem und seine Ziele. Jeder weiss vermutlich, dass es eine zehnklassige Schule in der DDR gibt; aber Näheres? Die folgenden Ausführungen versuchen in einer kurzen Uebersicht auf diese Frage einzugehen.

Die systematische Bildung der Kinder in der DDR beginnt im Idealfall schon in der Kinderkrippe. Kleinkinder bis zum Alter von drei Jahren werden hier ganztägig von ausgebildeten Erzieherinnen betreut. Allerdings gibt es noch nicht genug Plätze, nur 30% aller Kinder in dieser Altersstufe können aufgenommen werden,[1] Kinder von berufstätigen Müttern oder solchen, die an ihrer Fortbildung arbeiten, werden bevorzugt. An die Kinderkrippe schliesst der Kindergarten an, der ebenso wie die Kinderkrippe fakultativ ist, und in den die Kinder vom 3. bis zum 6. Lebensjahr gehen. Auch hier gibt es noch nicht genug Plätze, allerdings können heute schon 82% aller Kinder in dieser Altersstufe aufgenommen werden.[2] Die Kindergärten in der DDR sind echte pädagogische Einrichtungen, die den Kindern neben der Betreuung vor allem eine systematische Vorbereitung auf die Schule nach dem "Bildungs- und Erziehungsplan für den Kindergarten" bieten.[3] Kinder, die den Kindergarten nicht besucht haben, werden im Jahr vor der Einschulung einmal wöchentlich auf die Schule vorbereitet.

Auf den Kindergarten folgt das Kernstück des sozialistischen Bildungswesens in der DDR: Die zehnklassige allgemeinbildende polytechnische Oberschule, die obligatorisch ist. Das Schuljahr beginnt einheitlich am 1. September, eingeschult werden alle Kinder, die bis zum 31. Mai des jeweiligen Jahres sechs Jahre alt geworden sind. Die Schule ist in drei Stufen untergliedert: Unterstufe mit den Klassen 1-3; Mittelstufe mit den Klassen 4-6; Oberstufe mit den Klassen 7-10.[4] Zusätzlich gibt es die Erweiterte Polytechnische Oberschule mit den Klassen 11 und 12, die mit dem Abitur endet. Schüler können von der 10. Klasse der Oberschule auf die Erweiterte Oberschule weitergehen oder sie können vom Ende des 8. Schuljahres an Vorbereitungsklassen auf der Erweiterten Oberschule besuchen, die grundsätzlich dasselbe Material behandeln wie die Klassen 9 und 10 an der Oberschule und in die Abiturklassen 11 und 12 einmünden. Die Schüler, die auf die Erweiterte Oberschule gehen dürfen, werden nach Beendigung der 10. Klasse auf Grund von Leistung und politischer Eignung ausgewählt. Allerdings muss gesagt werden, dass Arbeiterkinder bevorzugt werden und dass durch religiöse Betätigung im allgemeinen die Chancen eines Schülers sinken. Die Zahl der Abiturienten beträgt etwa 13% der Schüler eines Jahrgangs.[5] Mit dem Abitur erhält der Schüler die Berechtigung, die Universität oder Hochschule zu besuchen.

Die Schule ist in der DDR viel strenger als in den USA, das Schuljahr ist länger (nur 6 Wochen Sommerferien) und auch der tägliche Stundenplan ist straffer. Ein grosser Teil der Kurse an der Oberschule ist den Naturwissenschaften gewidmet, insgesamt 29,8%; Gesellschaftswissenschaften, Muttersprache, literarisch-künstlerischer Unterricht sind mit 41,1% vertreten; Fremdsprachen mit 10,6%; Sport mit 7,9%; Einführung in die sozialistische Produktion und Produktionsarbeit mit 10,6%.[6] Die Lehrpläne der Oberschule sind heute einheitlich an allen Schulen. Der Besuch aller Bildungsanstalten ist schulgeldfrei und Schüler können sogar nach Bedarf Stipendien bekommen. Die ersten vier Klassen der allgemeinen Oberschule haben sich heute--bedingt durch die starke Berufstätigkeit der Frauen--zu einer Art Ganztagsschulen entwickelt, den Schulhorten, in denen in Jahr 1975 knapp 70% aller Kinder von 6-10 Jahren nach der Schule betreut wurden.[7]

Die Grundstruktur der DDR Schule ist einheitlich, doch bemüht sich der Staat, auch spezifische Anlagen zu fördern. Daher existieren seit 1963 einige Spezial-schulen und -klassen, besonders in den technischen, mathematischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Fächern, aber auch auf sprachlichen und künstlerischen Gebieten. Von Wichtigkeit sind auch die Kinder- und Jugendsportschulen, deren Erfolge wir bei der Montreal-Olympiade beobachten konnten.[7] Auch auf dem Sektor der Sonderschulen wird viel getan: 1973 wurden in 562 Sonderschulen etwa 80 000 Schüler mit physischen oder psychischen Schäden unterrichtet.[8]

Trotz aller Benühungen schaffen es nicht alle Schüler bis zur 10. Klasse einige gehen nach der 8. Klasse ab. Immerhin haben aber 1971 85% aller Schüler den Abschluss der 10. Klasse erreicht.[9] Von allen Schulabgängern--ob von der 8. oder der 10. Klasse--erhalten heute 99% eine abgeschlossene Berufsausbildung,[10] für die Achtklässler dauert sie drei Jahre, für die Schüler mit zehn Klassen zwei. Diejenigen, die ihr Abitur neben der Berufsausbildung machen wollen, nehmen ihre theoretische Berufsausbildung (neben der praktischen) in sogenannten Abiturklassen und erhalten dann neben dem Facharbeiterbrief ihr Abitur. Jeder DDR-Bürger, der kein Abitur hat, kann über den Weg der Erwachsenenqualifizierung, Volkshochschule, Betriebsakademie, Dorfakademie oder Berufsausbildung zur Fachscule gehen und von da die Universität oder Hochschule besuchen.[11] Niemandem ist theoretisch eine höhere Bildung verschlossen, und tatsächlich holen viele Berufstätige--viel mehr als in der BRD--das Abitur nach und erreichen durch weitere Lehrgänge eine grössere Qualifizierung. Auf diese einheitliche Schulsystem ist die DDR heute

stolz, obowohl es in der Praxis keineswegs so unproblematisch zugeht, wie es sich hier anhören mag. Aber ein Blick zurück auf die Entwicklung seit 1945 zeigt, dass in der Tat eine erstaunliche Leistung vollbracht worden ist, die auch im Westen anerkannt wird.[12]

Durch die Zerstörungen des Krieges war es sehr schwierig, die Schule 1945 wieder aufzubauen. Trotzdem wurde schon am 1. Oktober der Unterricht an allen allgemein- und berufsbildenden Schulen wieder aufgenommen. Um mit der "imperialistischen Vergangenheit" zu brechen, musste die Lehrerschaft, die im Geist des Faschismus erzogen worden war, ersetzt und umgeschult werden. Die Mehrzahl der Lehrer, die der NSDAP angehört oder aktiv in einer der Naziorganisationen gearbeitet hatten, wurde entfernt. Ersetzt wurden sie durch Neulehrer--junge Arbeiter, Bauern, Angestellte und andere Werktätige--, die in Lehrgängen von wenigen Wochen oder Monaten notdürftig vorbereitet worden waren. Diese Massnahme verursachte grosse Schwierigkeiten, besonders an den Oberschulen, deren Lehrer solide Fachkenntnisse benötigten. Das Schulsystem blieb zunächst unverändert dreigliedrig: Volksschule, Mittel- oder Realschule und Oberschule oder Gymnasium. Nur die Privatschulen wurden verboten und der Religionsunterricht wurde aus der Schule herausgelöst. Aber schon Anfang 1946 brach man mit dem traditionellen Schulsystem und leitete die "antifaschistisch-demokratische Schulreform" ein, die mit der Einführung der achtklassigen Grundschule das gleiche Recht auf Bildung für alle sichern sollte. Von der achtklassigen Grundschule führten jetzt zwei Bildungswege weiter: die vierjährige Oberschule mit dem Abitur und die obligatorischen Berufsschulen, die ihren Schülern den Zugang zu den Fachschulen und von dort zur Hochschule ermöglichten.[13] Von nun an sollte niemandem mehr der Zugang zur höchsten Bildung verwehrt sein. Ein besonderes Problem bildeten die ein- und zweiklassigen Landschulen, sie sollten in Zentralschulen zusammengefasst werden, aber erst 1958 gelang es, die letzte einklassige Schule offiziell zu schliessen, und es zeigen auch heute noch viele Schulen auf dem Land erhebliche Nachteile auf--z.B. in den Gebäuden, den Einrichtungen und im Unterricht. Neben der Schulreform wurde daran gearbeitet, die Ausbildung der Lehrerschaft zu reorganisieren und alle Schulbücher neu zu schreiben Ende der vierziger und Anfang der fünfziger Jahre ging die Phase der Demokratisierung des Bildungswesens in die Phase des "Aufbaus der sozialistischen Schule und des sozialistischen Bildungswesens" über und kulminierte im Dezember 1959 in dem "Gesetz über die sozialistische Entwicklung des Schulwesens in der DDR."[14] Dieses Gesetz verallgemeinerte die Erfahrungen, die seit dem Schuljahr 1957-58 in Praxis und Theorie gewonnen worden waren und hat zum Kern die obligatorische zehnklassige Oberschule für alle und den polytechnischen Unterricht. Es beruht auf dem Zielgedanken, dass alle Heranwachsenden die gleiche, wissenschaftlich fundierte allgemeine Grundbildung erhalten sollen, um sich auf dieser Basis mehrer "Spezialbildungen" aneignen zu können.[15] Die vierklassige Oberschule (Klassen 9-12) bestand in ihrer organisatorischen Form weiter, doch gab es auch hier Veränderungen. Gegen Mitte der sechziger Jahre schloss der Abschnitt des Uebergangs vom Kapitalismus zum Sozialismus ab, und die Periode der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft begann. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt--am 25. 2. 1965--wurde das "Gesetz über das einheitliche sozialistische Bildungssystem" beschlossen, ". . . mit dem es der Partei der Arbeiterklasse darum [ging], die Grundideen von Marx, Engels und Lenin über die allseitige Entwicklung der sozialistischen Persönlichkeiten schrittweise in neuer historischer Qualität in die Praxis umzusetzen."[16] In diesem Gesetz sind sämtliche staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Bildungseinrichtungen und ihre Ziele zusammengefasst und miteinander koordiniert und die Weiterbildungsmöglichkeiten der berufstätigen Menschen garantiert. Dieses umfassende Gesetz ist bis auf einige Reformen noch heute gültig. 1966 und 1969 wurde allerdings die Aufgabenstellung der Erziehung neu formuliert, danach sind die Aufgaben u.a.: die Schuljugend mit dem Marxismus-Leninismus vertraut zu machen; das Klassenbewusstsein aller Schüler zielstrebig zu entwickeln; sie den Kampf um die Leistungen der Werktätigen der DDR und die Führung der SED beim umfassenden Aufbau des Sozialismus und der Meisterung der technischen Revolution in der DDR begreifen lehren; sie zur festen Freundschaft mit der Sowjetunion, zum proletarischen Internationalismus und zur aktiven Solidarität zu erziehen. Es soll die neue sozialistische Persönlichkeit gebildet werden: "Das Ziel des einheitlichen sozialistischen Bildungssystems ist eine hohe Bildung des ganzen Volkes, die Bildung und Erziehung allseitig und harmonisch entwickelter sozialistischer Persönlichkeiten, die bewusst das gesellschaftliche Leben gestalten, die Natur verändern und ein erfülltes, glückliches, menschenwürdiges Leben führen."[17] Diese Definition gibt allerdings keine detaillierte Vorstellung von der sozialistischen Persönlichkeit, und tatsächlich ist bis heute noch keine geschlossene philosophische Anthropologie in der DDR konzipiert worden.[18] Aber in einem offiziellen Textbuch für Lehrerstudenten findet sich folgende Aufstellung der wesentlichen Merkmale der sozialistischen Persönlichkeit: 1. vielseitiges Wissen und Können, das sich auf eine moderne Allgemein- und Spezialausbildung gründet; das Bedürfnis, sich ständig weiterzubilden; Disponibilität und schöpferische Fähigkeiten, die es dem Menschen ermöglichen . . . , die wissenschaftlichtechnische und sozialistische Revolution zu meistern; 2. sozialistische Bewusstheit, das heisst wissenschaftlich begründete Einsicht in die Gesetzmässigkeiten der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung, eine klare und parteiliche Einstellung zum Sozialismus, gründliche politische und ökonomische Kenntnisse, sozialistische Grundüberzeugungen, die den einzelnen befähigen mitzuarbeiten, mitzuplanen und mitzuregieren; 3. sozialistisches moralisches Bewusstsein und Verhalten, vor allem sozialistisches Pflicht- und Verantwortungsbewusstsein, sozialistischer Gemeinschaftsgeist, persönliche Gewissenhaftigkeit und ausgeprägtes Ehrbewusstsein; 4. optimistische Lebensauffassung, vielseitige Interessiertheit, Sinn für das Schöne, Bewusstsein vom Wert und von der Würde der eigenen Persönlichkeit, individuelle Selbständigkeit und echtes Selbstbewusstsein, geistige und körperliche Leistungsfähigkeit.[19] Die Entwicklung zu einer solchen Persönlichkeit vollzieht sich "in der zweckgerichteten, produktiven Tätigkeit, in der aktiven Auseinandersetzung mit der gesellschaftlichen Welt".

Wie trägt nun die Schule neben der reinen Wissensvermittlung zur Entwicklung einer solchen Persönlichkeit bei? Den unmittelbarsten Einfluss stellt der Lehrer dar, der damit eine hohe gesellschaftliche Verantwortung trägt: Er muss neben dem Lehren reinen Wissens in das Zentrum seines Unterrichts die Herausbildung der ideologischen Grundüberzeugungen rücken; es genügt nicht, den Schülern Fakten über

z.B. die Oktoberrevolution beizubringen; er muss in ihnen die Ueberzeugung wecken, dass sie an der Seite der Söhne der Oktoberrevolution stehen.[20] Es geht also für den Lehrer um eine "ideologiezentrierte" Erziehungsarbeit. Diese vollzieht sich in einer Einheit von unterrichtlicher und ausserunterrichtlicher Arbeit. Der Lehrer muss zusätzlich zu dem Unterricht die praktische gesellschaftliche Tätigkeit der Schüler in Verbindung mit der FDJ und der Pionierorganisation "Ernst Thälmann" koordinieren und leiten. Entscheidend für den erfolgreichen Lehrer ist also nicht nur hohes fachliches Wissen sondern auch seine sozialistische Einstellung. Um diese ständig zu stärken, darf der Lehrer kein Westfernsehen ansehen und muss fortwährend an seiner Fortbildung (hauptsächlich auf ideologischem Gebiet) arbeiten.

Neben dem Lehrer sind die Eltern mitverantwortlich an der Sicherung der Bildungs- und Erziehungsergebnisse. Jede Schule hat einen Elternbeirat, auf zwei Jahre gewählt, und jede Klasse hat ein Klassenelternaktiv, auf ein Jahr gewählt. Die Aufgaben der Elternorganisationen bestehen darin, die Bereitschaft und Initiative der Eltern der Schüler zu fördern, auf die sozialistische Erziehung der Kinder in der Familie zu achten, die Arbeit an der Schule aktiv zu unterstützen wie auch die Tätigkeit der FDJ und der Jungen Pioniere. Sie sollen Hausbesuche bei Eltern von Kindern mit Schwierigkeiten machen, auf Grund ihrer Erfahrungen in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft im Unterricht des Faches Staatsbürgerkunde oder an einer Jugendstunde aktiv teilnehmen, die Betriebsbesichtigung einer Klasse leiten, Schüler bei Versammlungen öffentlich loben oder ermahnen. Dazu treten natürlich Elternversammlungen und Elternabende.

Ein grosser Einfluss geht aus von der Freien Deutschen Jugend (Jugendliche von 14 bis 25 Jahren) und der Pionierorganisation "Ernst Thälmann" (Kinder von 6 bis 14 Jahren), die an den Schulen eine politisch-erzieherische Tätigkeit ausüben, deren Grundaufgabe es ist, "alle jungen Menschen zu überzeugten, klassenbewussten jungen Sozialisten zu erziehen", d.h. die Jugendlichen sollen lernen, "Fleiss, Ordnung und Disziplin als revolutionäre Klassenpflicht zu begreifen und anzuerkennen".[21] Durch die FDJ lernen die Schüler hauptsächlich, wie die Demokratie in der DDR verwirklicht wird, d.h. die FDJ organisiert die politische Aktivität und Initiative ihrer Mitglieder und schafft dabei "ein breites Bewährungsfeld der gesellschaftlichen Arbeit". Die FDJ-ler beschäftigen sich in Zirkeln mit theoretischen Problemen der SED und lesen Klassiker des Sozialismus; besonderer Wert wird auf die politischpraktische Mitwirkung am "Kampf der Werktätigen auf ideologisch-kulturellem Gebiet" gelegt, z.B. sollen die FDJ-ler Feiertage der SED, des Staates und der Jugendorganisation aktiv gestalten, an Demonstrationen, Meetings und Aussprachen gemeinsam mit den Werktätigen teilnehmen, praktisch Solidarität mit den um ihre Freiheit kämpfenden Völkern zeigen. Ein wichtiger Aspekt ist auch die Teilnahme an Jugendobjekten und Pioniervorhaben in Industrie und Landwirtschaft, d.h. Erntehilfe, einfache Montagearbeiten, Säuberung von Strassen und Plätzen, Hilfe für alte und hilfsbedürftige Menschen, Unterstützung von akademisch schwachen Klassenkameraden usw. Aber auch naturwissenschaftliche, kulturelle, sportliche und touristische Betätigung in Interessengruppen gehört zum Programm der FDJ.

All die genannten Bestrebungen sind aber ohne den Einschluss der Arbeiterklasse und der Welt der Arbeit nicht vollständig. Aus diesem Grund wurde der polytechnische Unterricht eingeführt, dessen Aufgabe es ist, "ein entwickeltes sozialistisches Bewusstsein, die sozialistische Einstellung zur Arbeit und die Bereitschaft, jede Arbeit zum Wohle der Gesellschaft und des einzelnen zu leisten", zu entfalten.[22] In der polytechnischen Bildung, die einen Theoretischen und einen praktischen Teil umfasst und in einem Betrieb der Industrie oder Landwirtschaft stattfindet, sollen die Schüler erkennen, wie die erlernten naturwissenschaftlichen Theorien in der Produktion und Technik angewendet werden, und dadurch die Bedeutung des naturwissenschaftlichen Unterrichts mit der Praxis koordinieren. Ausserdem lernen sie die "wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen des Produktionsprozesses, ihre Arbeitsbefähigung und die Einführung in die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen der sozialistischen Produktion, in die politischen, ideologischen und ökonomischen Zusammenhänge und Gesetzmässigkeiten der Produktion und Technik".[23] Zusätzlich zu diesem Unterrichtsfach wird eine Verbindung zwischen Arbeitswelt und Schule durch Patenschaften mit Betrieben angestrebt. Es gibt Patenschaften von Brigaden für Schulklassen aber auch solche von einem ganzen Betrieb für eine Schule oder von einem Kombinat für mehrere Schulen. Ziel ist, das Bewusstsein der wechselseitigen Verantwortung zu fördern: Die Werktätigen erkennen, das "Bildungsschulden von heute Planschulden von morgen" sind und die Schüler sollen die modernste Produktion und ihre Bedingungen verstehen lernen. Diese Patenschaften können zu materieller Hilfe von seiten der Betriebe führen, z.B. Renovierung von Schulgebäuden, Ausstattung mit Unterrichtsmitteln usw., oder die Betriebe öffnen am Tage ihre Klubhäuser und Sportplätze für die Schüler, beauftragte Vertreter einer Brigade besuchen den Unterricht, nehmen Teil an Versammlungen einer Klasse, Schüler werden zum Arbeitsplatz eingeladen usf. Auf diese Weise wird die Trennung von Schule und Arbeitsleben überwunden--eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die Entwicklung einer produktiven sozialistischen Persönlichkeit.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass die DDR heute ein theoretisch einheitliches, straff aufgebautes Schulsystem erreicht hat, das jedem die Möglichkeit geben soll, die höchste Bildungsstufe zu erklimmen, und das systematisch nicht nur die wissenschaftliche Ausbildung sondern auch die gesellschaftlich-ideologische Entwicklung des jungen Menschen zum Ziel hat.

Notes

[1]Rüdiger Thomas, Modell DDR, 4. Aufl. (München: Hanser, 1974), S. 83.

[2]"Lehren und Lernen fuer Kommunismus," Interview mit Margot Honecker, Minister für Volksbildung der DDR, Neue Heimat, 4 (1976), S. 24.

[3](Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1967).

[4]Helmut Klein/Wolfgang Reischock, Bildung für Heute und Morgen, 5. Aufl. (Berlin: Panorama, 1973), S. 49.

[5]Horst Siebert, "Auf dem Weg zum neuen Menschen--Pädagogik und Bildungspolitik in der DDR", Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft in der DDR, Hrsg. von Rüdiger Thomas (München: Hanser, 1971), S. 221.

[6]Allgemeinbildung-Lehrplanwerk-Unterricht, Hrsg. von Gerhart Neuner u.a. (Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1973), S. 36.

[7]"Lehren und Lernen für den Kommunismus", S. 24.

[8]Thomas, S. 85. [9]Ibid., S. 83.

[10]Erwin Kohn/Fred Postler, Polytechnische Bildung und Erziehung in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Dresden: Zeit im Bild, 1973), S. 18.

[11]Ibid., S. 15. [12]Siebert, S. 228.

[13]Karl-Heinz Günther/Gottfried Uhlig, Geschichte der Schule (Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1974), S. 55.

[14]Ibid., S. 164. [15]Siebert, S. 212.

[16]Günther/Uhlig, S. 222.

[17]Das System der sozialistischen Gesellschafts- und Staatsordnung in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Dokumente. Hrsg. von der Deutschen Akademie für Staats- und Rechtswissenschaft "Walter Ulbricht" (Berlin: Staatsverlag, 1969), S. 446.

[18]Siebert, S. 208.

[19]Beiträge zur Theorie der sozialistischen Erziehung, Hrsg. von H. Stolz, A. Hermann, & W. Mueller (Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1971), S. 28.

[20]Ibid., S. 316. [21]Ibid., S. 354.

[22]Allgemeinbildung-Lehrplanwerk-Unterricht, S. 177.

[23]Ibid., S. 182.

SEXISM IN LANGUAGE? SO WHAT?

Dinah Dodds
Lewis and Clark College

German students at the first and second year levels are hungry for knowledge of the country whose language they are studying. Anecdotes, facts and figures, descriptions of traditions and customs--anything which will shed light on those "strange" people who see hands, lamps, and neckties as female, but feet, tables, and coats as male and who put the verb at the end of the sentence is enthusiastically welcomed and makes the language studied real. But the narrow subject matter of the class, the German language, can also illuminate the way in which the German people think. Language itself is an expression of culture, a fact which is easily forgotten in the midst of substitution drills and transformations. Students who question the nature of a German construction are really curious about the nature of the German mind and perception of the world. Many times there are good answers to the question: "Why do they say it like that?" Such answers can often reveal something about the German people. One such answer which I have found to be of interest to students is the following: "Because Germany, much like the United States, is a male-dominated culture, this domination permeates its language."

A brief glance at the German noun will provide some substantiation for this perhaps unexpected assertion. Each noun has a gender which, except for nouns designating people, seems arbitrarily assigned. There is no apparent reason why "foot" should be masculine when "leg" is neuter, or that "room" is neuter while "wall" is feminine. But when we come to people, genders are meaningful and reflect reality: "die Frau, der Mann, die Mutter, der Vater," etc. Das "Mädchen" and das "Fräulein" are of course the obvious but grammatically explainable exceptions. Nouns signifying <u>occupations</u> are, however, without exception masculine: "der Arzt, der Professor, der Rechtsanwalt, der Schuster, der Schneider, der Fischer, der Polizist, der Priester, der Präsident, der Kaiser," etc. Ah yes, you say, but all these nouns can be made feminine by simply adding the suffix "-in" (and sometimes umlauting) the masculine form. True enough. But it is also true that the <u>basic</u> form, that which appears in dictionaries and grammar books, is masculine. The masculine form has to be altered in some way to produce the feminine form. The masculine is fundamental; the feminine is an occasional deviation from that. Clearly the professions are considered the territory of males. In English, by the way, the suffix "-ess" works well with such forms as "actress, poetess, seamstress," and traditional female occupations. But "pilotess" or "presidentess" are miserable failures. The German suffix "-in" is applicable on all nouns denoting occupation; the English "-ess" is not. This fact perhaps illuminates a difference in attitude between German and English speakers. Could it be that German speaking countries are more tolerant of women working than English speaking countries? Students enjoy discussing this question.

If we now look at German pronouns, we come upon "man," meaning "one," as in the sentence: "one is what one eats." This pronoun is not used as often in English as in German. English prefers "they" or "you," as in: "you are what you eat." In German however, "one" is exceedingly common. As you might guess, it derives from the noun "der Mann,"[1] and is indistinguishable from it auditorily in everyday speech. This fact strongly suggests that German speakers think of "man" or "one" as masculine. In English we too refer to "one" as "he": "one is what he eats." In other words, the pronoun which according to Webster indicates "some person" really indicates a masculine person. You might conceivably ask, well, what would you have us use? We have no form which indicates both genders. My answer is another question: why is not German "man" or English "one" basically feminine instead of masculine? Why don't we say: "one is what she eats?"

The fact that the pronoun "man" is primarily masculine in meaning is supported by other German pronouns: "jeder" or "everyone" is invariably masculine, as is "keiner," "no one." In English we try to avoid the issue of the gender of "everyone" by simply saying: "will everyone please open <u>their</u> books?", a commonly heard grammatical error. In German, however, with its strict attention to gender and agreement, the only accepted form is "will everyone open <u>his</u> book?" Even the increasingly popular "his or her book" does not work in German. "Everyone" is simply masculine. The less used form, "jeder<u>mann</u>," emphasizes this fact.

Similarly "niemand," "no one" which contains "man," is masculine and is also declined with the masculine endings: "niemanden, niemandem, niemandes." The question word "wer" or "who" is also masculine, and in its forms "wer, wen, wem, wessen" is, except for the "w," identical to German "der, den, dem, dessen," the masculine definite article and/or relative pronoun.

The masculine form of these German pronouns suggests that German speakers see the world in terms of the masculine. Another seemingly unimportant fact gives further support to this view: the <u>order</u> in which the definite article has been traditionally given in grammars is "<u>der</u>, <u>die</u>, das," masculine, feminine, neuter. "<u>Die</u>, <u>der</u>, das" would actually make more grammatical sense, since the common forms shared by the masculine and the neuter would thus become more apparent. This grouping is not traditional however. Arbitrary, you say? I would argue the contrary. "Der" occurs first because the masculine is naturally considered first. The grammatical order is a reflection of the pecking order of society which has traditionally been masculine, feminine, neuter.

By the same token we do not find in vocabulary lists that the German equivalent for English "friend" is the feminine form "die Freundin" with the indication that the masculine form is to be created by removing the "-in." You might respond, yet, but linguistically it is more natural to add to words than it is to take off of them. All right, but consider that the two forms for "friend" might have been "die Freund," "der Freundin," in other words, that the basic form for friend had been feminine. A feminine form which is basic strikes us as very odd. It also seems strange to us to indicate English "everyone" as feminine "jede." Everyone knows that "everyone" is masculine. You just do not say "everyone please open her book," or "no one ate her dinner," or "whoever minds her p's and q's will go far." Why should this be the case? After all, just as many women as men speak German, if not more, and just as many feminine "friends" are masculine. Nevertheless, it makes sense to us that the basic form of nouns and pronouns is masculine. It feels right to us. For we are all a product of a way of thinking which sees masculine as basic, given, fundamental.

Thus, to a student's question, why Germans do say "jeder" and not "jede" for "everyone," an answer might be that language shapes itself according to that which is prestigious. The language of a country which believes itself to be inferior to another will, like many of its customs, be influenced by that of the superior country. So, too, language is shaped by its most prestigious speakers. If "jeder" is masculine, it is because German speakers see "everyone" in terms of males. In English "man" means both "human being" as well as "male." How would society have to change for the word "woman" to mean "human being?" Quite considerably, I think.

Language is an accurate reflection of the way in which its speakers view the world and specifically in this case, the relative importance of women and men in that world. We can all think of numerous examples in English and other languages. Male dominance of culture is by no means restricted to Germany and America. Sharing these examples with our students might perhaps give them a better feeling for the country whose language they are studying as well as an imporved understanding of their own language and the society which has shaped it.

Note

[1]Friedrich Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (Berlin: deGruyter, 1957), p. 457.

A TRAINING PROGRAM FOR BILINGUAL TEACHERS: ACADEMIC PREPARATION AND FIELD EXPERIENCE

Elizabeth M. Baricevic
Eastern Oregon State College

One kind of bilingual teaching training is what is referred to as on-site training. A certified teacher who is bilingual is placed in a bilingual situation and must become a teacher of a language in which he might be fluent but which he might or might not have studied formally; might or might not read or write with adequate proficiency for the task; must acquire or develop materials, devise techniques and strategies to teach subject matter in a language, which for this specific purpose, is foreign to him, while fulfilling the normal classroom routine and responsibilities of a teacher. He may or may not have outside help or supervision.

The needs of a bilingual classroom are also met occasionally by the services of an aide. Such a person is usually very capable, hard-working, and dedicated. An aide is an ideal candidate for training as a bilingual teacher for he is bilingual but not yet trained nor recognized as a teacher. Perhaps at times he is given the responsibilities of one but he is still "a teacher aide." A monolingual teacher might consider himself one of the fortunate few if he is assigned an aide who can understand what the children are saying, and better yet, explain to them what they are supposed to be learning, or to have learned.

There is a gap between these two types of "bilingual" situations and a classroom in which the teacher himself is not only bilingual/bicultural, but teaches in both languages and creates an atmosphere of sharing and a mutual respect and pride for both cultures. Nationwide, the need for teacher training in the colleges was apparent to bridge this gap.

Against this background the bilingual program at Eastern Oregon State College started in 1968 as a Master's degree program in Migrant Education. Its purpose was to train classroom teachers for communities with a high concentration of Mexican-American children in the State of Oregon. Of the fifty-six enrolled between 1968 and 1971, forty-one were graduated. All were employed in Oregon, about half in the classroom and the other half in administration. Of these, three remain in the state, while the others have gone to higher administrative posts in other states.

The Bilingual Education Teacher Training Program consists of two parts: Academic Preparation and Field Experience. The student who is a bilingual teacher trainee follows the program in Elementary Education leading to the Bachelor's degree and K-9 certification for the State of Oregon (which is reciprocal with many other states). In addition, this student satisfies the requirement for a concentration in Bilingual Education. The product of such a program is a regularly certified teacher who has a specialization in bilingual teaching as well as skills in Spanish.

To qualify for admission to the Bilingual component a student must be fluent (or nearly so) in Spanish; if he is not as a Freshman, he has two years in which to study Spanish in order to reach the fluency needed to follow the courses in the Junior year for which a certain fluency is required and will continue to develop in reading and writing as well as in speaking and understanding. The academic portion of the bilingual teacher training includes twenty-five quarter hours. There are seven separate courses which deal with culture, curriculum, language, and literature.

A five hour course in Chicano Society and Culture deals with both the Mexican-American in the United States today and with Chicano history. This course is as vital and revealing to the Mexican-American student as it is to the Anglo-American, since we often mistakenly project to everyone within our own ethnic or socio-economic group our own values, attitudes, customs, and beliefs.

A second five hour course, Materials for Bilingual Instruction, considers curriculum structure with a view to integrating the bilingual curriculum into the existing one. The meaning and purpose of Bilingual Education, a review of existing model programs and current research are emphasized.

The potential bilingual teacher must be well-informed and clear about bilingual education. This person, once in the field, must respond to the concerns of parents who want their child to learn English. An explanation and assurance that he will both learn English and also learn to read and write his own language, sets the parents' mind at ease. Only if the teacher is sure of himself can he experience the satisfaction of such a change in attitude.

In this course available bilingual materials in elementary and/or secondary teaching are examined. Attention is given to individualizing and adapting materials to specific classroom needs and to developing technical vocabulary for the respective curricula. If we consider the earlier definition that a bilingual teacher is not just a teacher who is also bilingual and bicultural but one who teaches bilingually and biculturally the prime importance of a course such as this is immediately obvious.

When the aspiring bilingual teacher has shown adequate proficiency in Spanish, he qualifies for the five hour course in Spanish for Native Speakers, a course designed for Mexican-Americans, but not

restricted to them. Each student also studies the Spanish sound system in a two hour course in Spanish Phonetics. This course can be taken any time after one year of Spanish. Because the bilingual teacher at any level, even the primary, is also a language teacher, the phonetics course is necessary. Since pupils who have a first language other than English will need to work on oral comprehension of English, the two hour course in Teaching English as a Second Language is also required.

Two literature courses complement Chicano Society and Culture and Materials for Bilingual Instruction. Chicano Literature and Folklore is a five hour course in which myths, folklore, traditions, and beliefs of the old Southwest and Mexico are explored; contemporary views expressed in Chicano and Mexican works in English and Spanish are also read and discussed.

In a one hour course, Children's Literature in Spanish, bilingual children's books are reviewed, read, and analyzed from the child's standpoint, with regard to their value and use in language development and cultural enrichment, and as literature; a child's book is translated into Spanish, and an original story is written in Spanish, illustrated, and made into book form.

An equally important part of the training program at Eastern Oregon State College are the field experiences in the Sophomore and Senior years. During the third quarter of the Sophomore year, in conjunction with Education 329, Introduction to Teaching, the student pursuing the Bilingual/Bicultural Concentration takes part in an elementary classroom as an intern whose task is to become acquainted with the materials, strategies, and techniques used in teaching bilingually. The student is present daily at the school in which the practicum is done--one week in each level, K-4, or perhaps K-6, the remaining weeks at the level of the intern's own preference. By the end of the quarter the sophomore intern has prepared and presented a plan for at least two teaching lessons, one English, one Spanish. The supervising teacher in each grade submits a report at the end of the week on the student's attendance, participation, and promise as a teacher.

This Sophomore Practicum has as its objectives: (1) to acquaint the student with the classroom situation at various levels; (2) to provide an opportunity to select the level for which he would wish to prepare himself to teach; (3) to give first-hand experience in assuming many and varied classroom duties and responsibilities other than actual teaching; (4) to provide an extended exposure to teaching and an initial participation in that process; (5) to give practical experience that will serve as a background for professional education courses; (6) to introduce the student to the internal operation of a school, and the interrelationships of teacher, principal, school board, parents, and total community; (7) to develop an awareness of classroom problems and potential solutions; (8) to develop a start in writing specific behavioral objectives by preparing a plan for two teaching lessons, one in English and one in Spanish; and (9) to teach at least these two classes. In other words the coordinating teacher is sharing her teaching and daily preparation with the sophomore intern.

Every effort is made to see that the intern is not to be an added burden to an already busy teacher. The point is also stressed that the intern is not an aide, although much of what he does in the process of learning is what an aide might do. The sophomore intern is also not a teacher. This experience is his introduction to teaching. Perhaps the most important benefit of this experience is that the student is able to decide realistically whether the teaching profession is what he really wants.

Following the Junior year on campus in which professional education requirements, any remaining institutional requirements, and the bilingual concentration are completed, the student spends the entire senior year in a bilingual classroom under the guidance and direction of the cooperating teacher. He begins by observing; soon he is teaching a class, in English or Spanish, with direction in preparing weekly projections and daily lesson plans. He adds a second class, varies two or three, until finally he is responsible for the entire day during the last third of the year. The intern is involved in teaching both Spanish for Spanish Speakers, and Spanish for English Speakers, according to the class's needs, from the beginning of the year.

Although the program is designed for elementary teachers, it is not exclusively for them. Several secondary Spanish education majors have chosen to complete the Bilingual Education concentration. The program is also available to students in other fields, to already certified teachers, to counselors, social workers, and to any others who would fihd it helpful in their work. Interest has been indicated by colleagues in the Business and Secretarial Science programs for an expansion of Bilingual Education to these disciplines. The cooperation of the Foreign Language faculty has been vital to success thus far and enrollment increases in Spanish classes has justified its involvement.

There is no question of the advantage to the elementary teacher. Consistently more notices of openings specify "knowledge of Spanish preferred," whether for music, physical education, or for the standard classroom teacher. Personal satisfaction of the student is found in: (1) the self-assurance and self-confidence that the year in the classroom, with supervision, has provided; (2) the growth in Spanish in a practical as well as grammatical way; and (3) the pride of the native speaker in learning that others appreciate his language.

Since 1971, Eastern Oregon State College has graduated nineteen bilingually-trained teachers, many of them former aides; the program can boast a record of 100% employment. The demand for trained bilingual teachers for the classroom continues. This is an academic need calling for an academically sound response.

BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

Joseph H. Matluck
The University of Texas at Austin

Betty J. Mace-Matluck
Seattle Public Schools

In ever-increasing numbers school districts are faced with the necessity of identifying children who are bilingual and determining the nature and extent of that bilingualism. A good deal of the work that we have done in recent years has focused on children in Kindergarten through Grade 6. When we look at these children as a group in the elementary school, we find them reflecting linguistic skills which range along a continuum from monolingualism in the home language, e.g., Spanish, Cantonese, Tagalog, to monolingualism in English, with varying degrees of bilingualism found in between.

Clearly, the language dominance of the students who are monolingual speakers of one language or another, and who fall at the extreme ends of the continuum, is an easy matter to determine. The task becomes more difficult, some would say impossible, when we attempt to determine the language dominance of bilingual or multilingual students. The term "language dominance assessment," as it is used today, presupposes bilingualism and that the individual being assessed in a bilingual or a multilingual who possesses some knowledge of--or makes some use of--two or more languages.

This brings into focus four major issues: (1) How do we define or describe a bilingual individual? (2) How can language dominance be defined or described? (3) Can the extent of one's bilingualism be measured, and if so, by what means? (4) Are there valid reasons for assessing an individual's language dominance?

ISSUE ONE

Let us start with the question, "Who is a bilingual?" Einar Haugen, renowned for his work on bilingualism in the Americas, provides us with perhaps the broadest definition.[1] He states, "Bilingual . . . is a cover term for people with a number of different language skills, having in common only that they are not monolinguals."[2] His definition does not specify how much the speaker has to know or how different the two idioms have to be to qualify as "languages." He merely points out that a bilingual's knowledge may range from a mere smattering to literary mastery in one or the other of his two or more languages, and he goes on to state that one's definition of a bilingual is a matter for a more or less arbitrary decision based on the purpose for which the classification is made. For some purposes, one might wish to define bilingualism, as Haugen did in an earlier publication,[3] as beginning "at the point where the speaker can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language."[4] For other purposes, one might also wish to include in one's definition passive bilingualism, i.e., the ability to understand the other language without the ability to speak it.

John Macnamara, whose work on bilingualism spans two continents, considers as bilinguals people who possess, even to a minimal degree in their second language, at least one of the language skills of listening, speaking, reading, or writing.[5] He treats bilingualism "as a continuum, or rather a series of continua, which vary among individuals along a variety of dimensions."[6] He maintains that there can be variation in an individual's degree of bilingualism among the four skills, and that in addition, variation may also exist in the individual's ability to use those same skills across formal and informal styles.

Wilga Rivers, one of the foremost scholars of our time in the fields of psychology and linguistics, would consider the child a bilingual "as soon as he is able to understand and make himself understood within his limited linguistic and social environment (that is, as is consistent with his age and the situation in which he is expressing himself)."[7]

Scholars the world over have pointed out the complexities and complications of defining and describing bilingualism. Most would agree that it is an extremely complex phenomenon, the exact nature of which is only partially understood. Most would also agree with William F. Mackey who states: "If we have made any progress in the analysis of bilingualism over the past twenty years, it has been in the recognition of bilingualism as a relative, complex, and multidimensional phenomenon, best described through quantitative methods."[8] Thus, it would seem that any individual who has language skills of any kind in two or more languages must, perforce, be termed "bilingual," and that these language skills can be described through quantitative means. This, of course, implies that children who are in the process of learning English as a second language are bilinguals and reflect bilingualism to one degree or another, and conversely, native English-speaking children who have some knowledge of another language are also bilinguals, and they, too, will reflect varying degrees of bilingualism. Is it not curious that, in spite of what we know about bilingualism, the current, popular definition that we hear today in education circles--and in political circles as well--is that the bilingual child is only that child whose primary or home language is other than English?

The Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare states: "A student's primary or home language . . . is other than English if it meets at least one of the following descriptions: A. The student's first acquired language is other than English. B. The language most often spoken by the student is other than English. C. The language most often spoken in the student's home is other than English, regardless of the language spoken by the student."[9] In a recent set of guidelines for bilingual education proposed by the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education,

and Welfare, a student's dominant language is defined as "the language most relied upon for communication in the home."[10]

It would seem to us that anyone who has acquired some control of a second language must be considered a bilingual. A person can be bilingual in only one skill--for example, in speaking two languages--but may be able to read and write only one. Others may be fully literate in their native language and, in addition, be able to read another language, but not be able to speak it. Others, such as many of the children reared in bilingual homes, may understand much of the home language, but have very limited skills in speaking it. Therefore, we would consider any person who can function even minimally in any one of the skills in two languages to be bilingual. The extent of that bilingualism is another matter.

ISSUE TWO

This brings us to the second issue: How can language dominance be defined or described? Clearly, the official stance of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is that the language spoken in the home is the key factor in defining language dominance. Certainly, the infant is going to learn the language he hears spoken in his home. The first-learned language, the mother tongue, is without a doubt the child's dominant language during infancy and early childhood, unless, of course, as is the case with some children, two languages are learned from the start. These children are said to have two mother tongues, and they may not even be aware of their use of two languages until about the age of three. The order in which the two are learned and the age at which the second language is acquired are critical factors in the kind and extent of bilingualism a child will manifest. Uriel Weinreich states: "In the initial stages of bilingualism, the mother tongue is, indeed, at the same time the language of greatest proficiency; but later on, many bilinguals exceed their mother-tongue proficiency in the second language under certain circumstances. Many immigrants in the United States, for example, have a greater facility in English than in their native languages."[11] However, as Weinreich,[12] Haugen,[13] and others have pointed out, most people develop a deep emotional attachment to the language of their childhood. This attachment is associated with the child's first experiences of the world, which are verbalized for him in the mother tongue and the strong emotional involvement provide the basis for mastery of that language which is not often equalled later for any other language. However, new attachments can subsequently be formed, e.g., through friendships, change of country, and peer pressures, which produce even greater emotional involvement than that of early childhood. Thus, while one can point to the mother tongue or home language as an important factor in determining language dominance, clearly other factors need to be considered as well. A number of scholars, including Weinreich,[14] have proposed that a dominance configuration be established for the two languages which would be calculated on the basis of a number of factors. In addition to the three already mentioned, i.e., order of learning, age, and emotional involvement, the list would also include: (1) Utility. The extent to which a language is actually used serves to promote dominance in one of the two languages. (2) Motivation, which is usually socially determined. The attitude of the bilingual toward his two languages, and the social pressures under which he lives play a large part in determining which of the two languages becomes his dominant one. (3) Literary-Cultural Values. The appreciation by a bilingual, or a bilingual group, of the literature and culture expressed in a particular language may tend to encourage dominance in that language. (4) Literacy. The reinforcement and expansion a bilingual gets by reading and writing in a language serves to place that language in a dominant position over a purely oral one. (5) Relative Proficiency. A bilingual's relative proficiency in two languages refers to the degree of his ability to use and to understand the sounds, grammatical structures, and lexicon of the two languages. The language in which the speaker evidences the greater proficiency is usually his dominant language.

Relative proficiency, however, depends upon and is affected by all the other factors mentioned above, and in addition, sociolinguists such as Charles Ferguson,[15] John Gumperz,[16] and Joshua Fishman[17] have demonstrated that the functions of communication are not matched for the bilingual's two languages and that bilingual proficiency will show quite marked variation with topic, situation, etc. Therefore, in any attempt to assess accurately the extent and degree of a student's bilingualism in order to arrive at a language dominance configuration, not only must we examine the differences in his global control of the four skills in both languages, but a careful assessment must also be made of these same skills in numerous situations which deal with a variety of topics. If such a dominance configuration could be established, and if we could then determine which patterns within the configuration correlate with school-oriented learning, then educators could proceed with confidence in planning appropriate school programs. However, the best minds in the field have not as yet provided the educator with a dominance test, much less a model, that will produce such a configuration.

ISSUE THREE

Lacking such a model, can we, then, measure the extent of one's bilingualism, and if so, by what means? Various means have been used to attempt to assess language dominance. Children have been assigned to non-English-speaking-language-medium school programs, e.g., Spanish, Cantonese, Tagalog, on the basis of either: (1) a language-related surname; or (2) a language background questionnaire; or (3) a subjective evaluation by an interviewer or teacher as to the ability of the child to converse in the target language; or (4) scores received on direct measures such as language proficiency tests; or (5) scores received on indirect measures such as word detection instruments or rating scales.

The absurdity of assigning a child to a specific language-medium program on the basis of his surname is obvious. It is equally obvious that a subjective evaluation by an interviewer or teacher is likely to go far afield for an accurate and thorough assessment. But how about the Language Background Questionnaire, and direct and indirect measures of language dominance?

A variety of indirect measures have been used, some with more success than others. Indirect measures refer to means of testing the skills which are presumed to be indices of language mastery without regard to the language involved and which are supposed to provide comparable scores that can be turned into quotients of bilinguality. For example, fluency tests, with scores based on reaction time, have been used by a number of experimenters. Susan Ervin[18] used a picture-naming test which scores the amount of time the bilingual needs in each of his languages for naming pictures of certain objects. In one experiment, Wallace Lambert and others measured the response time of bilinguals in following instructions to press certain keys, first in one language then in the other;[19] in another experiment they timed the reading of passages in two languages.[20] One of the characteristics of efficient language users is the automaticness of their responses; thus, speed of reaction in these tests serves as the index of automaticness.

Another kind of indirect measure is provided by flexibility tests which require the subject to change linguistic sets rapidly within a confined framework. One such test was used by Macnamara in his study of bilingual college students in Dublin, Ireland.[21] His subjects were required to give as many words or expressions as they could which were synonomous with a particular word within a phrase. He hypothesized that the bilingual would have far more ways to express a concept in the strong language than in the weak one.

Word flexibility tests are now being used in some parts of the United States to assess language dominance. Children are asked to identify objects or actions in a picture(s), first in one language and then in another. On the basis of their performance in the two languages, a language dominance rating is assigned.

Self-rating scales, in which the subject is typically required to rate himself in the four language skills in each of the two languages have been used with older students. The Language Background Questionnaire, of the type developed in the 1930's, is still being widely used for collecting data on the younger students, despite its well-known lack of reliability.[22] Typically, these questionnaires ask some adult in the home to estimate the extent of the student's use of each of the languages used in the home and in the home environment. In addition, they usually contain questions about the language use of the father, mother, siblings, and about the language patterns found in the activities that the family participates in outside of the home.

Direct measurement involves measuring directly and independently the student's knowledge of and ability to use the four skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing in each of his languages. On the basis of the student's performance, as compared with the performance of a normative population (usually native speakers of each of the languages), he is assigned a proficiency score in each language. A comparison of the two scores indicates his relative proficiency in the two languages: one of them is hence designated as dominant by virtue of the student's greater proficiency in it.

One can readily see the tremendous advantages for the educator in approaching the measurement of language dominance through the process of establishing relative proficiency. This process yields a great deal more information about the student than do indirect measures--information that can serve as a basis for making decisions about placement, curriculum, and instruction. Unlike the indirect measures, which yield only an indication of dominance, the direct measures have the potential of not only indicating dominance, but also of estimating proficiency in each of the languages, and in addition, depending upon the qualities of the tests, of providing some diagnostic information that can suggest prescriptive treatment.

Certainly, direct measures present us with difficulties which, while not all insurmountable, must, nevertheless, be reckoned with. First of all, they are often time-consuming to administer and to score. Secondly, they must be extensive enough to sample all the aspects of the skills which comprise proficiency. Thirdly, variation in language function, as it relates to topic, situation, etc., and variation across formal and informal styles may affect the outcome of such measures. Lastly, the difference in structure and content across the two languages raises the question of comparability of scores on the two tests.

In 1974, fully aware of the above difficulties and pitfalls, these authors constructed such a test, the MAT-SEA-CAL Oral Proficiency Tests, in English and five other languages.[23] Field-test data, gathered over the past three years, suggests that they are reliable and valid instruments, not only for measuring relative proficiency, but also for providing extensive diagnostic information which can be used for program planning and curriculum development.

ISSUE FOUR

Are there valid reasons for assessing a child's language dominance? While it is recognized that the nature of bilingualism is still only partially understood, that an adequate model for establishing a dominance configuration has not yet been designed, and that most of the indirect and direct methods we

have for assessing language are limited in their accuracy, usefulness, or availability, we still have the obligation, as educators, to ferret out whatever information we can and to base our decisions about children on the best information available.

What, then, are valid reasons for assessing language dominance? First, as we continue to examine and observe systematically the language performance of bilingual children, we can contribute to much needed knowledge in the field. Secondly, judicious use of information obtained through language assessment can help us in planning and carrying out better educational programs for our bilingual children. And lastly, if we may be permitted a bit of tongue-in-cheek, H.E.W. requires it.

Notes

[1]Einar Haugen, Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide (University, Ala.: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1956).

[2]Ibid., p. 7.

[3]Einar Haugen, "The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior," Passim (1953), 2v.

[4]Ibid., p. 7.

[5]John Macnamara, "How Can One Measure the Extent of a Person's Bilingual Proficiency?" Description and Measurement of Bilingualism: An International Seminar, ed. L. G. Kelly (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 80-97.

[6]Ibid., p. 82.

[7]Wilga M. Rivers, "Session One, Commentaries," Description and Measurement of Bilingualism: An International Seminar, ed. L. G. Kelly (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 35-36.

[8]William F. Mackey, "How Can Bilingualism be Described and Measured?" Description and Measurement of Bilingualism: An International Seminar, ed. L. G. Kelly (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 4-5.

[9]Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, "Task Force Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful under Lau v. Nichols," Memorandum, Office of the Secretary (Summer 1975).

[10]Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, "Proposed Rules, Title 45, Part 123 of the Code of Federal Regulations," Federal Register, 41, 69 (1976), 14986, 123.02.

[11]Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), p. 76.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Haugen, Bilingualism.

[14]Weinreich, Languages in Contact.

[15]Charles A. Ferguson, "Diglossia," Word, 15 (1959), pp. 325-40.

[16]John L. Gumperz, "Linguistic and Social Interaction in Two Communities," American Anthropologist, 66 (1964), pp. 137-53.

[17]Joshua A. Fishman, "Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without Bilingualism," The Journal of Social Issues, 23 (1967), pp. 29-38.

[18]Susan M. Ervin, "Semantic Shift in Bilingualism," American Journal of Psychology, 74 (1961), pp. 233-41.

[19]Wallace E. Lambert, "Measurement of the Linguistic Dominance of Bilinguals," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 50 (1955), pp. 197-200. See also W. E. Lambert, et al, "Linguistic Manifestations of Bilingualism," American Journal of Psychology, 72 (1959), pp. 77-82.

[20]Wallace E. Lambert, Language, Psychology, and Culture: Essays by Wallace E. Lambert, ed. Anwar S. Dil (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1972).

[21]Macnamara, "How Can One Measure."

[22]Ibid.

[23]Joseph H. Matluck and Betty J. Mace-Matluck, MAT-SEA-CAL Oral Proficiency Tests: English, Spanish, Cantonese, Mandarin, Tagalog, Ilokano, Field Test Edition in 6 volumes (Seattle: Seattle Public Schools; Arlington, Virginia: Central for Applied Linguistics, 1974).

FRENCH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN CAMBODIA

Johannes M. Spronk
Eastern Oregon State College

When in 1784 Rivarol wrote his Discours sur l'universalité de la langue française, French had already become the language of the European elite, and with the use of the French language had come a general acceptance of French culture. However, the expansion of French culture did not remain limited to Europe; it spread to many parts of the world. In many of these areas it superimposed itself on a number of alien cultures and has succeeded in maintaining its influence. Until recently, Cambodia has been considered to belong to this "francophone" world, and in February 1969 Cambodia attended the conference on "francophonie" in Niger. Until the recent drastic political and social changes both the French language and culture continued their influence in Cambodia. I would like to examine the development of this influence during the past two decades.

It might be useful first to examine briefly the establishment of French culture in Cambodia. Although the activities of French missionaries in Cambodia started as early as 1660, it would be another 200 years before the dynamic Mgr. Miche helped to establish a veritable French influence in Cambodia. Impressed by this capable churchman, King Dorodom decided to place his kingdom under the protection of France in 1863.[1] The ninety years of French control which followed left their impression on Khmer society, and this French influence did not cease when the country obtained independence in 1953. It continued despite the challenge of the indigenous language and its culture, and to a lesser extent of English. Whether it has finally succumbed to the socio-political onslaught of the Khmers Rouges remains to be seen.

The fact that French culture continued to play an important role after 1953 can only be partly attributed to the continued presence of French nationals and French cultural and technical aid. For as the Head of State, Norodom Sihanouk, pointed out during a speech at the occasion of the naming of the "Boulevard Charles de Gaulle" on 5 June 1965: "Notre peuple, une fois décolonisé, adopta spontanément la culture de l'ancien colonisateur. Cette culture--parce qu'elle n'est plus imposée--se développe remarquablement dans tout le royaume, rapprochant d'autant nos deux pays et nos deux peuples."[2] Whether French culture reached all levels of Khmer society can certainly be questioned, but it appeared to be true for the Khmer elite. In a radio message on 20 February 1966, Sihanouk, attacking the attitude of certain intellectuals toward French aid, asked rhetorically: "N'est-il pas vrai que, du moins lorsque vous cessez par moments de vouloir paraître ultra-nationalistes, vous vous replongez non sans plaisir dans cette fameuse culture française dans laquelle d'ailleurs beaucoup d'entre vous avez été éduqués?"[3] Many aspects of this culture were readily available. One could have dinner at La Taverne or Le Café de Paris, smoke a Globe cigarette "au véritable goût français," view a French movie at the Ciné Lux, read the daily news in either Phnom Penh Presse or La Dépêche du Cambodge, pick up the weekly Réalités Cambodgiennes at the newsstand, listen to French programs on Radio Phnom Penh, buy your "charcuterie" or "pâtisserie" at Ets. J. Michaud, and send your children to Licée Descartes. Many Khmers were conversant with French literature. In August 1967 Phnom Penh Presse ran a series of articles on La Fontaine by P. Littaye Suôn, and an article on Stendhal by André Billy. A number of periodicals published original French poetry and short stories by Khmer authors. Although from 1965 on a number of magazines appeared in an English version, the poems remained generally in French, and many of the articles were mere translations of French originals. The English edition of Kambuja of January 1970 published a poem by Chhang Song "Pour ma mère patrie je repars . . ." (pp. 104-07). In August 1970 New Cambodge [sic] published "Le Pot et la Rose," a poem by Mey Siphal (p. 690). An excellent short story "Le Père" which appeared in Réalités Cambodgiennes of 5 December 1969, shows to what extent French literature had been adapted to Khmer culture. The influence of French literature on the Khmer writers was frankly admitted by Trinh Hoanh, president of the "Association des écrivains khmers." He points out, however, that "l'influence de la littérature française s'est manifestée dans la littérature khmère beaucoup plus sur le plan de la forme que sur celui du fonds."[4] The Khmer writers had a predilection for the romanesque, and this explains why the Khmer translation of Paul et Virginie appeared right along with modern Khmer novels at the Phnom Penh bookstalls in 1967.

This general atmosphere of French culture was reinforced by the use of French in the transactions of official business, and as the language of instruction in the Khmer educational system. It is doubtful if we can even speak of a Khmer system of education during the French Protectorate. The educational system was created by the French to train civil servants for their administrative system. French served as the language of instruction, and from the first grade on the young Khmer, who had been fortunate enough to enter this system, had to learn French. Yet political and socio-cultural factors coupled with economic development and geographic location slowly eroded this preponderant influence of the French language. Expressions of nationalism were closely linked to the assertion of the Khmer language and culture. The proponents of "khmérisation" realized that this process could only be achieved by reducing the role of French in their society. They pointed out, with some justification, that the Khmer language and culture had been greatly neglected by the Frenchified system of education which for many years had the young Khmers repeat: "Nos ancêtres les Gaulois. . . ." As the idea of independence gained ground, French was gradually removed from the early grades. In 1948 French was not started until the second grade, and in 1953, the year of Cambodia's independence, it was placed in the fourth grade. Yet it was not until 1958 that Khmer replaced French as the language of instruction in elementary education. It

should be noted that in 1940 there was only one lycée in Cambodia, and that prior to 1953 the entire faculty on the secondary level was made up of French teachers supplied to Cambodia by the French government. The reforms of 1958 and 1965 produced a new curriculum with emphasis on the national character, but French remained the language of instruction.[5] In 1967, however, Khmer became the language of instruction. This reform had a considerable impact on the study of Khmer, but did not seriously affect the study of French according to Khmer educators. Many secondary students who had relied on French now had to prepare for an essay in Khmer. During my visit to Cambodia in 1967, I heard a number of Khmer students express serious concern about the "rédaction en khmer." Yet a French lycée in Phnom Penh continued to prepare students for the French "bachot," and French continued to be the language of Khmer higher education.

This gradual de-emphasis of French in the Khmer educational system led the editors of "Francophonie 1968" to conclude that there had been a decline in the use of the French language in Cambodia (p. 53). Sihanouk reacted to this assertion in the article "The Khmer and the Foreign Languages" [sic]: ". . . the French language is not in any way in regression in Cambodia, very much to the contrary, as it remains the first living language in our teaching, itself in continual expansion."[6] But in spite of these assurances to the world, the proponents of Khmerization continued to press their demands for an increased use of the Khmer language and culture in the curriculum. Ironically, this had to be achieved at the cost of French; the French contributions to the knowledge of Khmer culture are considerable. How much would we have known about Khmer culture without the work of the "Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient," or the expertise of a Georges Coedès, Georges and Bernard Groslier, Louis Finot, Madeleine Giteau, Solange Bernard-Thierry, François Martini, and René Laporte?

The political climate greatly influenced this apparent conflict between the Khmer and French cultures. When in 1970 Cambodia became the Khmer Republic, it was subjected to severe French criticism, which provided the proponents of total Khmerization with additional arguments, and gave a greater impetus to the study of English. In 1969 Sihanouk still professed Cambodia's firm adherence to the French-speaking world: "Nous avons choisi de demeurer fidèles à la culture française, dont notre pays est assurément aujourd'hui le point d'ancrage dans une Asie du Sud anglophone."[7] Geographic and economic factors seemed to favor English. Yet many Khmer intellectuals continued to resist the elimination of French, and even argued the continuation of French at the elementary level. In an article "La pensée et la langue" Douc Rasy argues quite eloquently for the retention of French on the elementary level.[8] He rejects the argument that since the teaching of French in elementary school has not produced the desired results it ought to be eliminated. He points to the democratizing effect of the knowledge of foreign languages and the attempts of the former ruler to keep the Khmers ignorant of foreign languages in order to control the influx of foreign ideas and to perpetuate a political orthodoxy. This would explain certain discrepancies between professed ideals and actual practice during the previous period. Rasy makes an excellent argument for the universality of the French language: "L'histoire nous a montré que l'indépendance du Cambodge a été conçue en plein protectorat français non point par ceux qui ne connaissaient pas un mot de français mais par ceux-là même qui ont eu la faculté de lire des ouvrages français (notamment l'histoire de la Révolution française, les grandes oeuvres politiques ...) et qui parfois ont pu, grâce à leur voyage, mesurer la différence entre le Cambodge du protectorat et la France républicaine."[9] With a typical French appeal to logic, he points out that French is Cambodia's most efficient instrument for communication with the rest of the world. But to learn French well requires many years of study started at an early age. The fact that there had been a decline in the quality of teaching of French seems to have been generally accepted. There were even complaints about the inadequate preparation in French of university students. But according to Rasy, the children of the poor stood to lose most by this reform in education since the wealthy could always find a way to have French taught to their children. But such arguments were not able to prevent these reforms. In an interview published in Réalités Cambodgiennes of 18 December 1970, Chhann Sokhum, minister of National Education, declared: "Nous voulons que les langues étrangères, que ce soit le français, l'anglais ou tout autre langue, soient bien enseignées par des professeurs, français ou anglais, avec des méthodes modernes. Il faut que l'enseignement soit sérieux, profitable, donc efficace. . . . pour celà, il faut aborder l'enseignement des langues étrangères au début du secondaire, à partir de la 6ème avec une méthode rationnelle" (p. 15). A more detailed discussion of these projected reforms appeared in Réalités Cambodgiennes of 9 July 1971. It pointed out that only 12% of the elementary students would attend secondary school, and that the teaching of French to the 88% who would never continue would be a waste of time, especially since "l'enseignement dispensé actuellement est de mauvaise qualité et souvent entaché d'erreurs" (p. 10). On the secondary level the use of French as the language of instruction was no longer considered possible. The project even considered the possible Khmerization of higher education. The authors of the project agreed, however, that French as the most widely used foreign language had to strengthened on the secondary level.

The general French atmosphere maintained itself in Cambodia after 1953, yet a thorough knowledge of the French language seems to have remained limited to a relative elite. After their victory in 1975, the Khmers Rouges proceeded to eliminate this elite. Has French culture completely disappeared from Cambodia? We can only guess. It is interesting that at least two among the Khmer Rouge leadership studied in Paris, and wrote their theses for the French university system in the second half of the 1950's.[10] Furthermore, many French speaking Khmers have found exile in France. In the final analysis, of all the factors influencing the retention or rejection of the French language and its culture, the political seems to have been the most significant one.

Notes

[1]A. Dauphon-Meunier, Histoire du Cambodge (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1961), p. 104.

[2]Les paroles de Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk (Phnom Penh: Le Ministère de l'Information, avril - juin 1965), p. 581.

[3]Les paroles de Samdech Preah Norodom Sihanouk (Phnom Penh: Le Ministère de l'Information, janvier - mars 1966), pp. 193-94.

[4]"Passé et avenir de la littérature khmère," Réalités Cambodgiennes, 7 April 1967, p. 30.

[5]Rapport sur le mouvement éducatif en 1966-1967 (Phnom Penh: Ministère de l'Education Nationale, juillet 1967), p. 18.

[6]Kambuja, 15 Dec. 1968, p. 9.

[7]"Le Cambodge et la francophonie," Réalités Cambodgiennes, 7 March 1969, p. 16.

[8]Douc Rasy, "La Pensée et la langue," Réalités Cambodgiennes, 30 Oct. 1970, p. 8.

[9]Ibid., p. 10.

[10]Hou Yo(u)n, "La Paysannerie du Cambodge et ses projets de modernisation," Thèse droit Paris 1955; Khieu Samphan, "L'Economie du Cambodge et ses problèmes d'industrialisation," Thèse droit Paris 1959.

LA MUTATION CULTURELLE DE LA FRANCE: DE LA SOCIETE DE L'ANCIEN REGIME A CELLE DE L'UBIQUITE

Joseph Labat
Washington State University

De nos jours, les nations ne se distinguent plus par leur héritage humain, culturel, artistique ou architectural, mais par le rythme de leur accession au progrès, à la modernité, par leur aptitude au changement, par la vitesse à laquelle elles s'arrachent à leur passé pour construire un complexe industriel et technologique. Cet état d'esprit pose des problèmes à l'enseignant de la culture et de la civilisation française. Ne se trouve-t-il pas, en effet, dans l'embarras du choix quant à la France à enseigner: celle des arts, celle des lettres, la vieille France, la moderne, la populaire, la bourgeoise, l'inchangeable ou la changeante?

Notre essai envisage d'établir, à la lumière de la civilisation française, une armature sociologique sur laquelle pourraient s'inscrire les différents visages culturels de la France des deux derniers siècles. Toutefois, faute d'espace, nous sommes désolés de ne traiter que superficiellement "la culture de masse."

La Révolution française, en brisant le cadre de la vieille société féodale et monarchique, a marqué l'accession de la bourgeoisie au pouvoir, et ce faisant, préparait le terrain pour une révolution économique, selon l'optique de Marx, sous le mode capitaliste. Hâtons-nous toutefois de préciser que ce n'est pas uniquement la Révolution et le nouveau système économique qui auront précipité les temps modernes. C'est la convergence, à la fois, d'un esprit de liberté et de conquête né à la Renaissance, d'un idéal chrétien de démocratisation plus rationnel qu'évangélique, de rationalisme cartésien sous-tendant toute entreprise, d'une objectivité scientifique appuyée sur les grandes découvertes, et c'est surtout l'homme occidental sortant de sa relativité cosmique, qui a pris en main son destin.

Par ailleurs, il est important de savoir que dans la période allant de la Révolution au IIe Empire, une "cassure" se produit dans la diachronie culturelle de la France, une "mutation," dont l'évolution aboutit à notre époque. De nouvelles formes culturelles, un esprit nouveau, des modes de vie sans commune mesure avec le passé, apparaissent à l'encontre des cultures traditionnelles: "Pour les neuf dixièmes de son histoire, l'humanité a obéi à des systèmes de domination dont les fondements étaient autres qu'économiques et où tout surplus était arraché aux producteurs en vertu des principes théocratiques, monarchiques, d'allégeance féodale, etc."[1]

Avant d'étudier la culture française aboutissant à cette mutation, et les développements de celle-ci, constatons que dans l'histoire de la France, cette coupure n'est point la première. Dans une interview pour la Télévision Française I, l'ancien ministre de la culture, André Malraux, situe la mort de Dieu vers 1450.[2] Peut-être fut-ce le moment de son histoire où l'homme occidental aurait pris en charge sa mortalité, d'où l'orgueil de faire un destin de sa vie? Notons toutefois que la Renaissance est une première mutation de la culture et de la pensée française, et occidentale. C'est aussi un nouvel esprit qui germe, et dont la marche en avant permit l'édification de la civilisation française. Esprit de progrès, foi en l'homme, volonté de conquête, ébranlement de la base même du christianisme, mais survie de l'esprit chrétien, toutes les formes d'art témoignent de cette mutation. Consultons, par exemple, le symbolisme quantitatif et qualitatif personnifié par le Pantagruel de Rabelais. L'homme, selon la terminologie malrusienne de la même source, a perdu "l'humilité." Il gagne en "prestance," et les châteaux rivaliseront désormais avec les cathédrales.

A la veille de la Révolution, il y a deux grands ensembles culturels: la culture de l'élite et la culture populaire. Il faut savoir que, jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle, la majorité des Français ont vécu dans le système de la culture populaire, qu'à la Révolution, le tiers état, hors la noblesse et le clergé, groupait "98% de la population, la quasi totalité de la nation."[3] Deux tiers de ce pourcentage sont constitués par la paysannerie: la France était alors une nation essentiellement agricole. La bourgeoisie, tout en appartenant au tiers état, se distingue de la paysannerie par son détachement de la terre, et par son rôle dans le commerce, l'industrie et l'administration. De tout temps ce rôle matérialiste répugna à l'élite accrochée à son héritage psychologique et idéologique: "L'idée serait restée dans l'esprit du gentilhomme, pour qui le monde des affaires symboliserait la négation même de ses idéaux."[4] C'est ce recul dans le domaine économique qui provoquera, en grande partie, l'affaiblissement politique de l'aristocratie.

Revenons aux cultures populaires et de l'élite. Ce sont d'abord deux manières différentes de se situer dans le monde naturel et social. L'homme du peuple se situe avec la nature. Ses croyances, ses rites, ses fêtes, s'expriment surtout en gestes et peu de mots: c'est essentiellement le folklore. L'aristocrate, par contre, se situe par rapport à la nature, voire contre la nature. Il est l'héritier de l'esprit progressif de la Renaissance, et est indifférent au folklore. Si la culture de celui-là est spécifiquement gestuelle et irrationnelle, celle de celui-ci est langagière et rationnelle. Le paysan colle étroitement à son existence, il mime son rapport au monde. Le noble "dit sa relation aux choses et aux êtres, en même temps qu'il la vit, ou avant de la vivre, voire au lieu de la vivre."[5]

L'homme de l'élite possède sa culture du discours et de la rhétorique. Il cherche à se personnaliser. Il est épris de changement, la nouveauté est à ses yeux une valeur essentielle. L'histoire lui appartient

par le langage. La culture de l'élite se présente comme: "La synthèse plus ou moins harmonieuse, c'est-à-dire plus ou moins réussie, d'éléments empruntés à l'Antiquité classique (rhétorique et juridisme), au christianisme (sa morale surtout, influencée par les courants jansénistes en France, et puritain dans les pays anglo-saxons), à la Renaissance (individualisme et esthétisme), à l'esprit classique du XVIIe siècle (goût de l'ordre et de la mesure), à la philosophie rationaliste du XVIIIe, peut-être aussi, mais c'est moins net, à la science positive."[6]

L'homme du peuple est possédé par sa culture qui est collective, communautaire: "Le concept de communauté se comprend plus clairement par la nature des liens qui unissent les individus entre eux. Ces liens sont essentiellement de nature instinctuelle: ce sont ceux du sang, de l'affection, du respect, de la crainte."[7] Sa culture s'inscrit dans la texture même de son existence. Des fêtes aux simples gestes, tout est transmis de génération en génération. Sa culture est sacralisée par son ancienneté. L'idéal populaire serait de se maintenir dans la permanence, d'où son conservatisme et sa stabilité.

En effet, la culture populaire va planter ses racines dans des époques dépourvues d'épaisseur historique. Mélange foisonnant de paganisme et de christianisme sans chronologie véritable, d'où le caractère intemporel et sécurisant de la culture populaire. Pourtant l'Eglise de la Contre-Réforme lui a voué une lutte acharnée pour la purifier des figures, mythes, rituels et éléments païens. Ainsi en témoignent ces différentes interprétations de la mort: l'une, concevant la matérialité de l'âme, recommande de recouvrir les miroirs pour qu'elle ne s'y heurte pas; l'autre, au Berry, contraint la famille du défunt, prenant part au convoi funéraire, à se laver les mains au premier ruisseau, pour prévenir la contagion.

Intemporel aussi parce que le rural d'alors, immergé dans la nature, vit le temps synchronique des saisons, des phases de la lune, le temps des semences et des récoltes. En ce qui concerne le concept de l'espace, l'homme de la culture populaire en a une notion hiérarchisée et non géométrique. Il vit cloisonné au sein d'un même groupe, ce qui explique l'endogamie qui s'y pratique. Si le prétendant est étranger au village, la collectivité locale y voit non seulement une insulte à sa tradition, mais aussi une possibilité d'affaiblissement de la communauté consanguine.

Nous avons dit plus haut que la culture populaire est irrationnelle. Elle l'est justement pour permettre à l'individu d'avoir une emprise sur le monde, où tout agit sur tout. Contre la sécheresse, par exemple, il y a les prières, les pélerinages. Contre les maladies, il y a les saints guérisseurs: saint Roch pour la peste, saint Jean pour l'épilepsie, ou encore sainte Reine pour la blennoragie. On peut également avoir recours à la magie des "leveurs de sorts" pour contrer les sorciers ou "jeteurs de sorts." Ainsi, l'homme du peuple ne conçoit pas de frontière entre la nature et la "surnature," entre la vie profane et l'action divine, la science à laquelle il croit est occulte. Le sorcier du village peut d'un regard provoquer la maladie du bétail, ou d'un souffle flétrir les récoltes.

Enfin, cette culture populaire dominante se trouve graduellement érodée par des forces sociales dissolvantes, telles que l'épuration entreprise par l'Eglise, l'hostilité des autorités civiles au folklore, l'enseignement républicain, l'urbanisation évolutive de la société, la nouvelle économie, la demographie, les migrations vers les villes, et le brassage social provoqué par "l'esprit nouveau" corrosif à l'esprit communautaire, surtout dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle, pour aboutir à l'uniformisation culturelle des temps modernes: "L'importance des collectivités locales par rapport au pouvoir central ne cesse de décroître. Mais à la fête de la Fédération, point culminant de notre histoire, la France se regardait comme une fédération de communes autonomes, et cette image-là s'estompe au point qu'on a peine à en retrouver les contours."[8]

En ce qui concerne la culture de l'élite, ce sont ses notions éthiques et esthétiques qui la tenaient hors la réalité sociale. C'est pourtant l'aristocratie qui, par sa tentative de briser le "despotisme" monarchique, a donné l'impulsion première aboutissant à la Révolution. Mais débordée, dépassée par les événements, l'aristocratie sera vaincue, isolée, par la bourgeoisie qui devient l'élément moteur de la Révolution: "La hiérarchie sociale ne pouvait plus reposer que sur la richesse."[9]

A l'origine le terme de bourgeoisie est réservé à des habitants des villes privilégiées, les bourgs, qui avaient acquis le "droit de bourgeoisie." Au XVIIIe siècle, il désigne la partie la plus riche de la masse populaire. La Révolution politico-sociale faite par et pour la bourgeoisie se conjugue avec une révolution économique, technologique et industrielle. En fait, on parle de plusieurs révolutions industrielles: "La première était celle du charbon et de la machine à vapeur, la seconde celle de l'électricité, du pétrole et de la turbine, la troisième celle de l'énergie nucléaire."[10] Pour la culture populaire, c'est la seconde qui lui aurait asséné le coup de grâce, ceci pour la France puisque l'évolution industrielle y fut moins abrupte qu'en Angleterre, en Allemagne et en Belgique. Mais pour la bourgeoisie, c'est la première révolution industrielle qui lui aura donné l'autonomie et le terrain économique permettant à l'esprit bourgeois de prendre son essor: "C'est la première révolution industrielle qui a provoqué les ruptures les plus brutales. Avec elle, le milieu naturel, qui a servi de cadre à l'humanité depuis les origines, cède peu à peu la place au milieu technique. En même temps, l'économie naturelle, caractérisée par la prépondérance des activités agricoles et de l'exploitation agricole travaillant pour la consommation domestique, recule devant l'économie de marché."[11]

En prenant les rênes du pouvoir, la bourgeoisie, qui voulait satisfaire sa volonté de puissance, trouva dans l'économie de marché la terre à défricher, et dans la masse populaire le cheval de labour. La mentalité bourgeoise ressemble singulièrement à cette morale de Benjamin Franklin, dans La Science du bonhomme Richard, comme l'écrit Maurice Crubellier.[12] Le bourgeois est avant tout laborieux; c'est une éthique du travail, de l'action, ou comme dit le bonhomme Richard: "Ne remettez jamais à demain ce que vous pouvez faire aujourd'hui." Le bourgeois est économe; il doit ménager ses frais pour épargner, puisqu'une "cuisine grasse rend un testament maigre." Le bourgeois mène une vie morale, dans la bonne foi, "car les femmes, le vin, le jeu et la mauvaise foi, font qu'on trouve sa fortune petite et ses besoins très grands." Le bourgeois vit dans l'humilité, "car l'orgueil déjeune avec l'abondance, dîne avec la pauvreté, et soupe avec la honte."

Psychologiquement, que ce soit le bourgeois récent imprégné encore de la culture populaire, ou les couches les plus anciennes qui ont reçu l'enseignement des collèges, l'esprit bourgeois tout en rendant hommage à la culture de l'élite, s'oppose presque en tout à l'esprit du peuple. Celui-ci est, comme nous l'avons vu, communautaire, religieux-hétérodoxe, résigné, incongru et terriblement illogique. Celui-là est désormais individualiste, pratique, calculateur, organisateur, efficace, avide de bienséance et de logique.

Vis-à-vis du christianisme, la bourgeoisie, héritière du matérialisme des philosophes, reste très attachée à une certaine morale chrétienne dépourvue de mysticisme et peu évangélique. Le bourgeois redevient catholique aux grandes occasions: baptême, mariage. Il croit en l'utilité sociale et politique des religions, mais accorde peu de prix à l'amour de Dieu et du prochain. Il fera pieusement l'aumône, par précaution. Sa morale enseigne le respect de l'ordre; il considère l'inégalité sociale établie par la Providence. Sa vie oscille entre deux pôles: ses affaires qui favorisent son expansion et manifestent ses vertus créatrices; sa famille où il vient savourer le repos. L'absence d'irrationalité dans le caractère et la conduite du bourgeois est le secret de sa plénitude. Il a supprimé toute marge entre le réel et le possible, entre la vie et le rêve, entre l'instinct et la conscience.

Ainsi pour faire tourner la machine industrielle, il fallait la main-d'oeuvre. Les ouvriers, déracinés, travaillaient pour la production; produire, toujours plus, pour rentabiliser l'industrie. Mais il était nécessaire de faire écouler les produits de la machine pour rentrer dans ses frais. Ce fut la consommation qui boucla la boucle économique. Pour réussir et développer ce système, il a fallu la conjonction de trois événements qui vont jouer un rôle ahurissant dans le domaine de la culture: la presse, les moyens de diffusion, et les moyens de communication de masse: les mass-media.

Il faut savoir d'abord que pendant des siècles, la production répondait aux besoins d'une consommation définie par un genre de vie. Cette production tenait compte des classes sociales, des inégalités. Le triomphe des sociétés industrielles a renversé la situation: "L'économie cessait d'être simplement au service des hommes; elle s'employait à les plier à ses impératifs propres, en d'autres termes, elle en venait à leur imposer un genre de vie, des valeurs en même temps que des besoins, elle remodelait leur sensibilité, elle s'appliquait à les mettre en état de désir, ou de frustration."[13] C'est par conséquent, à l'encontre des cultures traditionnelles, une pseudo-culture, une culture de masse qui se propage comme une traînée de poudre.

C'est la presse d'abord qui eut en rôle primordial au niveau de la culture, rôle sans précédent d'uniformisation des mentalités de conditionnement à la consommation. D'ailleurs le développement de la presse suit la boucle de l'organisation industrielle. Le gros tirage permet le bon marché qui attire la publicité qui garantit le gros tirage. Semblablement, le citoyen travaille pour être rémunéré pour acheter les produits démocratisés de la mode qui enrichit l'industrie qui fait travailler le citoyen. Dès lors, la relation de l'homme à son milieu se fait par l'intermédiaire d'objets matériels dont l'achat lui fut agréablement imposé, les mêmes objets pour tout le monde: démocratisation, "banalisation," "massification," de la société "unidimentionnelle," de l'ubiquité.

Culture envahissante, métamorphosant le milieu spatio-temporel, créant un nouveau milieu, qui interdit toute tentative de rebrousser chemin. Il faudrait plutôt, pour les responsables de la culture, en puisant dans l'objectivité de la science, développer des moyens pour "faire travailler un peu plus l'économie au profit de l'homme et un peu moins l'homme au profit de l'économie; de la faire fonctionner au bénéfice d'un plus grand nombre d'hommes, et un peu plus sous leur contrôle . . . . [et de sauvegarder l'équilibre d'une] croissance simultanée de la justice sociale et de la démocratie politique."[14] Ou en d'autres termes, il faudrait contribuer à améliorer le rapport que l'homme a avec l'homme, avec la nature et l'univers. Toute culture humaine requiert une éthique. Pour la culture de demain, à initier, il faudrait exiger une morale de la connaissance, à cause des pouvoirs illimités du savoir scientifique, car comme l'écrit Jacques Monod: "L'ancienne alliance est rompue; l'homme sait enfin qu'il est seul dans l'immensité indifférente de l'univers d'où il a émergé par hasard. Non plus que son destin, son devoir n'est écrit nulle part. A lui de choisir entre le royaume et les ténèbres."[15]

Notes

[1]Francis Balle et al., Encyclopédie de la sociologie: le présent en question (Paris: Larousse, 1975), p. 21.

[2]Maurice Clavel, "Le Légendaire du siècle," Le Nouvel Observateur, 629 (1976), p. 101.

[3]Georges Dupeux, La Société française: 1789-1790 (Paris: Colin, 1972), p. 62.

[4]Ibid., p. 108.

[5]Maurice Crubellier, Histoire culturelle de la France: XIXe-XXe siècle (Paris: Colin, 1974), p. 50. Nous nous sommes généreusement documentés dans cet excellent livre.

[6]Ibid., p. 103.

[7]Jacques Mousseau et al., Les Communications de masse (Paris: Hachette, 1972), p. 188.

[8]Emmanuel Berl, Le Virage (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), p. 129.

[9]Dupeux, p. 101.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid., p. 32.

[12]Crubellier, p. 86.

[13]Crubellier, p. 195.

[14]Jean-François Revel, La Tentation totalitaire (Paris: Laffont, 1976), pp. 15-16.

[15]Jacques Monod, Le Hasard et la nécessité: essai sur la philosophie naturelle de la biologie moderne (Paris: Seuil, 1970), pp. 224-25.

LES FRANÇAISES

Claudine Guégan-Fisher
Portland State University

La plupart des gens admettent bien volontiers que les Françaises sont différentes des femmes américaines. C'est une lapalissade. Quand les Américains pensent à la femme française, cela évoque en eux toutes sortes de connotations erronées, et ils tombent souvent victimes de stéréotypes. La femme française peut apparraître tour à tour, comme objet de séduction, campagnarde ramenant son pain à bicyclette ou femme fatale sachant manipuler ses homme. Il en est de même pour les Françaises d'ailleurs, qui ont des idées préconçcue sur les riches Américaines ou sur les mères de famille qui vont au marché avec des rouleaux sur la tête.

Il est indispensable de tenir compte des caractéristiques culturelles, des coutumes particulières à la France, afin de saisir à sa juste valeur l'esprit des Françaises. Elles vivent sur le même sol, parlent la même langue, partagent les mêmes habitudes, les mêmes croyances, les mêmes moeurs, ce qui leur donnent une optique commune de la vie et du monde. (Une Française ne s'inquiéterait pas de sa tension ou de son manque de vitamines, mais en revanche parlerait de son foie, qui n'est pas à confondre avec son estomac.) Donc pour comprendre ce qu'est une Française, nous étudierons certains aspects de sa culture et la suivrons dans le rôle qu'elle a joué dans l'histoire. La France a toujours été féminine dans l'esprit de ses habitants. D'Abord par son genre grammatical; puis par sa situation géographique privilegiée, qui l'a douée d'un climat tempéré et sans extrêmes: elle porte bien son nom, la "Douce France:; enfin par le symbole de la République, Marianne aux traits de Brigitte Bardot, contrepoint de "Uncle Sam." De plus la France représente l'hexagone sacré, et même le nombril du monde. Car il existe chez les Français un chauvinisme accentué envers leur pays et envers eux-mêmes. Les femmes aussi croient avoir atteint un équilibre harmonieux dans leurs attitudes et leur comportement. Elles souhaitent être à la fois féminines et féministes et se voient femmes libérées.

Le contexte historique explique la source de cette attitude. L'originalité de la femme française réside dans le fait qu'elle a réussi, de tous temps et à toutes les époques, à exercer un grand pouvoir bien que, légalement, elle en ait été dépourvue. Cette contradiction ne cesse de réapparaître au cours de l'histoire et règne encore aujourd'hui. Son influence se faisait sentir au niveau social, souvent toujours tenu en société une place privilégiée, où elle savait gagner l'estime des hommes; d'ailleurs elle semblait satisfaite de son sort. Sa situation résulte de deux forces opposées, de deux traditions: d'une part l'amour courtois et d'autre part l'amour gaulois. Elle vascille entre ces deux pôles. Tantôt elle acquiert des privilèges en mettant en pratique le code de l'amour courtois qui souligne sa valeur, tantôt elle est réprimée par les attitudes de l'amour gaulois qui lui ôte tout droit en tant qu'être humain.

Pour Michelet, la France "est née d'un coeur de femme." Il pense bien sûr à Jeanne d'Arc, la mère de la France. La grand'mère de la France serait Clotilde, qui a converti Clovis au Christianisme. Cet événement marque la mort de la vieille Gaule et la naissance de la France telle qu'on la connait. Il n'est pas dans mon intention de nommer toutes les Françaises célèbres au cours de l'histoire, car la liste serait longue. D'ailleurs ces femmes célèbres ont rarement apporté de changements dans le sort de la femme du peuple.

Le Moyen Age illustre l'amour gaulois. C'était une période misogyne où les hommes avaient tout pouvoir et les femmes peu d'importance. Les hommes possédaient légalement le droit de battre leurs femmes, de les répudier et de les enfermer dans des couvents si elles leur avaient été infidèles. Les moeurs étaient rudes et pour les hommes la femme incarnait le démon. Bien que le Christianisme, en théorie, affirmât l'égalité entre l'homme et la femme devant Dieu, en fait il freinait l'émancipation de la femme. L'Eglise établissait des tabous qui devaient protéger la femme d'elle-même, mais en réalité la tenait sous le joug des hommes: la virginité, la fidélité et la mariage découlaient de la double influence du droit patriarcal de propriété et de la foi catholique qui soulignaient l'importance des enfants, de l'autorité de l'homme et de l'obéissance de la femme. Le clergé de l'époque, au Concile de Macon, se demandait si la femme avait une âme puisqu'elle était à l'origine de la chute d'Adam. Par la Trêve de Dieu, le Concile vota, par une faible majorité, que la femme avait une âme, bien qu'inférieure à celle de l'homme.

Au contraire l'amour courtois tenait la femme en grande estime. L'époque féodale tirant à sa fin, les hommes restaient davantage dans leurs châteaux, étaient amenés à passer plus de temps en compagnie des dames. Celles-ci organisaient les loisirs. Ainsi les trouvères et les troubadours étaient payés et protégés par les femmes. Il n'est pas étonnant qu'ils fassent, en chansons, l'éloge de leurs mécènes. Quand un noble était fait chevalier, il ne jurait plus fidélité à Dieu ou à son roi, mais à sa dame. Il y a eut transfert de pouvoir et la femme prit la première place. L'importance grandissante des femmes fut encore ravivée par le renouveau de foi pour la Vierge Marie, symbole de pureté, de maternité et de charité. Au XII et XIII siècles, la société comme l'Eglise attribuent à la femme puissance, respect et prestige. Les hommes devaient mériter leurs dames, se dévouer pour elles. On peut noter que l'amour courtois ne pouvait s'épanouir qu'en dehors du mariage. Ainsi l'adultère était-il encouragé et devenait l'élement indispensable pour l'amour vrai. Du XII siècle jusqu'à nos jours, nous pouvons retrouver dans la littérature cette liberté dans le comportement des amants: l'éternel triangle, ou ménage à trois,

les plaisanteries sur le cocu. Dans les pays Anglo-saxons qui subirent l'influence puritaine, cette attitude est moins marquée. En bref, le Moyen Age présente deux aspects de la société et de l'amour: Posséder sans courtiser (gaulois) et Courtiser sans posséder (courtois).

La Renaissance, au contraire, fut l'époque de la vraie femme, au comportement équilibré envers l'amour. Sa devise pourrait s'intituler: Courtiser pour posséder. La Renaissance bannissait la déification de la femme. Malheureusement le XVI siècle fut une période féministe dans l'aristocratie seulement. Les femmes des classes inférieures, qui jusque-là avaient travaillé, ne trouvaient plus d'emploi, car la bourgeoisie, qui commençait son essor, regardait avec mépris le travail des femmes, son devoir étant de se consacrer à la maison et à la famille. Le destin des trois sortes de femmes, paysanne, bourgeoise et noble est bien distinct. Mais avec la croissance de la bourgeoisie, souvent antiféministe, les valeurs de la maternité et de la femme au foyer sont revalorisées.

Au XVII siècle, les femmes commencèrent à réclamer leur droit à l'instruction et même au génie. Ce fut l'époque des Salons. Dans le domaine de l'art et des idées, l'influence des femmes devint primordiale. Madame de Rambouillet, qui reste l'hôtesse la plus célèbre de l'époque, représente la femme cultivée par excellence. Des bourgeois comme Racan, Malherbe et Balzac arrivèrent même à faire partie de cette élite intellectuelle. Les écrivains comme Madame de Sévigné et Madame de la Fayette brillaient particulièrement. Mademoiselle de Scudéry porta le rafinement jusqu'à la pédanterie et l'excés de préciosité dans le ton (Molière sut d'ailleurs s'en moquer dans Les Précieuses Ridicules et Les Femmes Savantes). Euphémismes et métaphores abondaient: la chandelle devint "le supplément du soleil," la lune "le flambeau du silence." Cependant les précieuses étaient loin d'être des snobs frivoles. Elles furent les premières féministes conscientes. Elles dénoncèrent l'état déplorable de l'éducation féminine et réclamèrent le droit au divorce et l'égalité des sexes. Le XVII siècle voit ainsi le triomphe des femmes. Ce fut une brève victoire. Avec Louis XIV, la noblesse fut domestiquée et les femmes perdirent du terrain. Elles acceptèrent le monde artificiel de la cour: elles mirent leur energie dans les plaisirs, seul domaine où elles égalaient les hommes. Elles poussaient au premier plan, en politique, en religion et dans l'armée, des hommes qui, par la suite, pouvaient servir leurs desseins. Tout était intrigue et manipulation. C'est à cette époque que Madame de Tencin prononça cette phrase célèbre: "A la manière dont nous sommes traitées, il est facile de voir que Dieu est un homme."

La Révolution Française ratifia la notion qui veut que la femme soit la propriété de l'homme. Le paradoxe du pouvoir social et du pouvoir légal de la femme était encore plus prononcé. C'était à la guillotine que l'égalité se retrouvait, lorsque tombaient les têtes des deux sexes. Les femmes mouraient avec courage: Madame Roland, l'égérie des Girondins, s'exclamait à l'échafaud "Oh, Liberté, que commet-on en ton nom!" Charlotte Corday posa pour son portrait avant son éxécution, avec un calme serein. Sous la Révolution, les femmes réclamaient le droit à l'éducation, des réformes dans les lois du mariage, l'abolition de la dot et davantage de liberté sexuelle. Ces demandes étaient trop extrémistes et féministes pour être prises sérieusement par les révolutionnaires. Une série de répressions suivit: le nouveau gouvernement adopta une attitude patriarcale et punitive envers les femmes. Cette tendance fut par la suite codifiée par Napoléon.

Napoléon, en misogyne, rendit légal l'infériorité des femmes, avec le Code Civil de 1806. Le Code, fait par les hommes, pour les hommes, était antiféministe. Voici quelques exemples de ces lois qui ne furent abrogées qu'au XX siècle.

Article 213	- L'homme doit protection à la femme; la femme lui doit obéissance.
Article 1124	- Les personnes démunies de droits civils sont les prisonniers, les aliénés, les mineurs et les femmes mariées.
Article 223	- Un mari peut interdire à sa femme de travailler.
Article 1428	- Un mari gère la fortune de sa femme et en jouit à son gré.

Au XX siècle, un mari pouvait encore interdire à sa femme de conduire jusque dans les années soixante. Une femme ne pouvait aller à l'université, travailler ou voyager avec son enfant, sans le consentement de son mari. De plus, l'autorisation paternelle par écrit était nécessaire (même si le père était loin en voyage d'affaires en cas d'urgence médicale). Au XX siècle, la femme reçut enfin plus de droits civils et légaux:

- En 1900, le premier lycée de jeunes filles fut créé. Il y en avait alors 24 en France. Il y en a aujourd'hui dans toutes les villes et ils sont mixtes depuis une dizaine d'années.

- En 1910, les jeunes filles ont la permission de présenter le baccalauréat.

- En 1938, les jeunes filles peuvent passer les mêmes examens que les hommes. Pourtant certaines écoles restaient encore fermées aux femmes. En 1971, l'Ecole Polytechnique accueillait les premières femmes et l'une d'elles sortit major de sa promotion.

En 1920, la question du droit de vote pour les femmes fut présentée à l'assemblée, mais le dossier resta en suspens pendant plusieurs années. Lorsqu'il fut enfin étudié, il fut rejeté. Ce n'est qu'en 1944, pour remercier les femmes de leur participation et de leur sacrifice pendant la guerre que le droit de vote leur fut accordé. Elles votèrent pour la première fois en 1945. La Française fut une des dernières en Europe à voter alors que l'Américaine du Wyoming votait depuis 1870 et l'Anglaise depuis 1918.

- En 1907 la femme peut dépenser son salaire.
- En 1921 la femme peut faire partie d'un syndicat.
- En 1938 la femme ne doit plus jurer obéissance à son mari.

Ce quelques exemples choisis dans l'évolution historique de la femme en France illustrent qu'elle n'avait pas de droits légaux. Pourtant il faut bien dire qu'elle n'a pas lutté avec énergie pour les conquérir. Le mouvement des suffragettes y fut plus faible et plus tardif. Quelles en pourraient être les raisons? Le paradoxe constant de manque de pouvoir légal opposé à un relatif pouvoir social, a permis à la Française de développer en elle une certaine "débrouillardise", un savoir-faire qui devient naturel. Elle a vite appris à utiliser le système sans se révolter, sans en changer l'organisation sociale, administrative et politique. Son rôle dans la famille étant toujours proéminent elle exerce sa puissance sur son mari et ses enfants. C'est elle qui dépense quatre-vingt pour cent du budget familial. Les Françaises ont surmonté les obstacles en découvrant des moyens cachés, ingénieux, ou en inspirant le goût, les manières, les moeurs. Elles appâissent plus asservies que les femmes américaines, mais sont plus réalistes, et semblent être heureuses d'être femmes. Pourtant depuis 1968 leur comportement se révèle plus direct, comme leur prise de conscience s'éveille. Des revues, des livres, des émissions radiophoniques et télévisées discutent de leur problèmes. Le Deuxième Sexe de Simone de Beauvoir, passé inaperçu à sa publication en 1949, est maintenant la Bible des féministes. Elle y avance sa thèse célèbre: "On ne naît pas femme, on le devient."

Où en est le mouvement féministe de nos jours? Malgré les Etats Généraux de la Femme, il semble encore hésiter en France car les Françaises ne veulent pas attaquer les hommes sur leur propre terrain. Elles ont peur de devenir comme les hommes ou ont peur le leurs réactions. Lettre Ouverte aux Bonnes Femmes de Jean Lartéguy souligne l'opposition virulente de certains hommes envers le mouvement de libération de la femme. Ce Mouvement de la Libération des Femmes fut fondé (tardivement comme à l'accoutumée en France) en 1970 par le Magazine Elle. Quatre mille femmes en font partie. En mai 1972, 343 femmes signèrent le Manifeste des 343 où elles déclaraient publiquement qu'elles avaient avorté. Simone de Beauvoir, Catherine Deneuve, etc., admirent avoir avorté. Elles ne furent pas condamnées bien que l'avortement fût encore illégal en 1972. En mai 1974 l'avortement est libéralisé et en mai 1975 il devient légal. (Toute femme peut avorter dans les dix premières semaines de sa gorssesse, et cette intervention doit être accomplie par un docteur dans un hôpital.) En 1967 la loi Neuwirth permit aux femmes d'utiliser la pilule comme moyen de contraception, mais huit pour cent seulement la prennent en France. En 1975 la contraception devient gratuite, accessible aux mineurs et remboursée par la Sécurité Sociale.

En 1975, avec la célébration de l'Année de la Femme, les lois sur le divorce sont réformées. Le divorce peut maintenant avoir lieu s'il y a simple incompatibilité (grande amélioration par rapport aux longues "batailles" légales avec preuves à l'appui: lettres d'insultes, preuve d'adultère, etc.). C'est aussi en 1975 que la femme a le droit de signer les feuilles d'impôts avec son mari.

En 1977 la situation de la femme semble s'améliorer à grand pas. Elle résulte d'abord de la Révolution de 1968 et de la prise de conscience de la nouvelle génération; ensuite de l'effort d'écrivains femmes qui, dans leurs essais et leurs romans, ont popularisé les problèmes particuliers à la femme. Françoise Parturier, par exemple, dans sa Lettre Ouverte aux Hommes et dans sa Lettre Ouverte aux Femmes démontre l'exploitation des femmes et essaye de les sortir de leur passivité. Elle est convaincue que les circonstances sont de nos jours favorables pour une libération. Elle présente une Française encore passive, peureuse et escalve, non des hommes, mais de ses propres habitudes et de ses propres réflexes mentaux. Elles ne peuvent pas réussir, dit-elle, car elles manquent d'estime envers elle-même, elles croient à leur infériorité congénitale, à leur auto-infériorité. Enfin, depuis 1974 le gouvernement de Valéry Giscard d'Estaing a crée le Ministère à la Condition Féminine sous la direction de Françoise Giroud. (Cinéaste, journaliste, directeur de Elle et un des fondateurs de L'Express.) Elle désirerait changer l'attitude de la masse de Françaises et souhaiterait une réconciliation entre hommes et femmes. Mais son ministère n'a pas de budget séparé et manque de fonds. Simone Veil (à ne pas confondre avec Simone Weil, auteur de La Condition Ouvrière, morte pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale) quant à elle, dirige le Ministère de la Santé depuis 1974 et son budget atteint un milliard deux cent cinquante millions de francs. Les réformes sur l'avortement, le divorce et la contraception furnet menées à bien grâce à ses efforts.

Ainsi en 1977, la condition féminine en France a fait de grands progrès. Les féministes sont peu nombreuses, mais les autres femmes se tiennent mieux au courant de leur situation. La solidarité semble être le leit-motiv de ces dernières années. Elles savent que la réussite de quelques femmes ne suffit pas à changer la condition de toutes les femmes. Elles insistent sur l'idée de justice et sur une vue humaniste de la vie. Le dernier paradoxe qui existe chez les Françaises s'attache à leur apparence. Elles veulent être à la fois féministes et féminines. Leur présentation extérieure et la manière dont elles s'habillent comptent beaucoup et ce n'est peut-être par incompatible avec l'idée progressive qu'elles ont d'elles-mêmes. Quant aux Français, ils paraissent plus réticents aux changements apportés par la libération que ne le sont les hommes Américains. Mais la tradition de la cellule familiale reste encore un point fort dans la vie française. Espérons que le compromis idéal sera atteint et que les Françaises trouveront ce qu'elles désirent: un équilibre harmonieux.

LE BICENTENAIRE ET LE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

Marie-France Hilgar
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

La mémorable déclaration de 4 juillet 1776 parvint en France vers la fin de la même année. Elle marquait non le terme mais le début d'une guerre d'indépendance qui allait durer plus longtemps que la Grande Guerre, celle de 1914-1918, puisque ce n'est qu'en 1783 que le Traité de Versailles fut signé.

"Après s'être couverte de lauriers et enrichie de conquêtes," écrit Lafayette dans ses Mémoires, "après avoir maîtrisé toutes les mers, insulté toutes les nations, l'Angleterre avait tourné son orgueil contre ses propres colonies. Depuis longtemps l'Amérique du Nord lui faisait ombrage; elle voulut joindre aux premières entraves des vexations nouvelles, et envahir les privilèges les plus sacrés."[1] L'indépendance de ses nouveaux états coûtait cher à l'Angleterre qui se voyait enlever d'abord un grand commerce tout à son avantage, ensuite en quart de ses sujets augmentant sans cesse par une rapide multiplication et l'émigration de toutes les parties de l'Europe, enfin plus de la moitié et la plus belle portion du territoire britannique.[2]

Dès que Lafayette eut connaissance de la guerre, son coeur fut enrôlé. Il prit pour devise les mots Cur non?, se mit en rapport avec Silas Deane, agent secret envoyé par le Congrès pour trouver de l'aide pour les insurgents, ainsi qu'on les nommait à l'époque. L'annonce que New-York, Long-Island, les White Plains, le fort Washington et les Jerseys avaient vu les forces américaines s'anéantir successivement devant trente-trois mille Anglais et mercenaires allemands et que seuls, trois mille hommes poursuivis par le général Howe restaient, découragea tous ceux qui s'étaient montrés sympathiques envers la cause américaine, excepté Lafayette qui déclara à Silas Deane: "c'est dans le danger que j'aime à partager votre fortune." Il acheta et arma secrètement un navire et après six mois de travaux et d'impatience, le 26 avril 1777, il mit la voile pour le continent américain. Il n'avait pas encore vingt ans, et sa femme était prête à donner le jour à leur second enfant.

Après un voyage de sept semaines Lafayette arriva en Caroline devant Georgetown. Remontant la rivière en canot il sentit enfin le sol américain et fit serment de vaincre ou de périr avec la cause. Il fit à cheval les quelque 1200 kilomètres qui séparent Georgetown de Philadelphie où l'accueil du Congrès fut très froid, les Américains étant révoltés par les prétentions des nombreux étrangers et aventuriers. Lafayette envoya au Congrès le billet suivant: "D'après mes sacrifices j'ai le droit d'exiger deux grâces; l'une est de servir à mes dépens, l'autre est de commencer à servir comme volontaire."[3] La résolution du congrès qui le concerne, délibérée le 31 juillet, était conçue en ces termes: "Attendu que le marquis de Lafayette, par suite de son grand zèle pour la cause de la liberté, dans laquelle les Etats-Unis sont engagés, a quitté sa famille et les siens, et est venu à ses frais offrir ses services aux Etats-Unis, sans réclamer ni traitement ni indemnité particulière, et qu'il a à coeur d'exposer sa vie pour notre cause; résolu: que ses services sont acceptés, et que, en considération de son zèle, de l'illustration de sa famille et de ses alliances, il aura le rang et la commission de major général dans l'armée des Etats-Unis."[4] Washington fit l'accueil le plus amical au jeune général volontaire et l'invita à vivre chez lui comme membre de sa famille militaire.

Lafayette reçut le baptême de feu à Brandywine le 11 septembre 1777. A un moment de confusion extrême où il essayait de rallier les troupes, il eut la jambe traversée d'une balle. Il s'occupa quand même d'arrêter les fuyards avant de se faire panser. Forcé de garder le lit pendant six semaines, il souffrit plus de son inaction que de sa blessure. Du moins pouvait-il écrire; il s'employa à rassurer sa femme: "messieurs les Anglais m'ont gratifié d'un coup de fusil qui m'a un peu blessé la jambe, mais cela n'est rien mon cher coeur; la balle n'a touché ni os ni nerf."[5] Il écrivit au commandant de la Martinique et lui proposa, sous pavillon américain, un coup de main sur les îles anglaises. Il écrivit au comte de Maurepas pour lui proposer une entreprise plus considérable, toujours sous pavillon américain, contre les comptoirs anglais de l'Inde. Le projet aurait sans doute réussi mais il fut rejeté à Versailles.

Quoique sa blessure fut encore ouverte Lafayette retourna au front. Le 25 novembre il se trouva à Gloucester devant un poste de quatre cents Hessois avec du canon. N'ayant que trois cent cinquante hommes il attaqua brusquement les ennemis qui furent obligés de se replier. Ce petit succès plus aux Américains et le 1er décembre, le congrès résolut qu'il lui serait extrêmement agréable de voir le marquis de Lafayette à la tête d'une division. Il quitta donc son état de volontaire et pris le commandement des Virginiens.

Le 22 janvier 1778, le congrès décida qu'on entrerait au Canada et choisit Lafayette comme commandant de l'expédition. On lui promit 2500 hommes à Albany, un gros corps de milices à Coos, deux millions de dollars, et tous les moyens de traverser sur la glace le lac Champalin d'où, après avoir brûlé la flotille anglaise, il tomberait à Montréal et y agirait suivant les circonstances. L'idée plaisait à Lafayette qui écrivit à sa femme de Valley-Forge, le 3 février: "le Canada est opprimé par les Anglais; tout cet immense pays est en possession des ennemis, ils y ont une flotte, des troupes et des forts. Moi, je vais m'y rendre avec le titre de général de l'armée du nord et à la tête de trois mille hommes pour voir si l'on peut faire quelque mal aux Anglais dans ces contrées. L'idée de rendre toute la Nouvelle-France libre et de la délivrer d'un joug pesant est trop brillante pour s'y arrêter."[6] Malheureusement,

en arrivant à Albany Lafayette fut bien déçu. Au lieu de 2500 hommes il n'en avait pas 1200. Les milices n'étaient pas averties. Habits, vivres, magasins, traineaux, raquettes, tout était insuffisant pour l'expédition glaciale. Pour se procurer ce qu'il manquait il fallait deux mois et le lac allait commencer à dégeler. Le général de vingt ans décida, en gémissant, d'abandonner ce grandiose projet. Il eut la sagesse de renoncer à une expédition qui, entreprise sans moyens, aurait eu des suites funestes pour toute la partie septentrionale des Etats-Unis. Sa décision lui valut les remerciements et les félicitations du congrès et du ministre de la guerre, le général Gates. Washington lui écrivit le 10 mars: "tout le monde approuvera la prudence qui vous a fait renoncer à une entreprise dont la poursuite vous eut engagé dans une lutte vaine contre des impossibilités physiques."[7]

Lafayette ne perdit pas son temps. Les Hurons et les Iroquois, soudoyés par les Anglais, dévastaient la frontière; il réussit à réveiller l'ancien amour des Indiens pour les Français et un traité fut signé à Johnson's Town sur la rivière Mohawk. A son retour à Albany il trouva la formule d'un serment, envoyé par le Congrès, que tout officier civil et militaire devrait prêter. "Une reconnaissance de l'indépendance, liberté et souveraineté des Etats-Unis; une éternelle renonciation à George III, ses successeurs, ses ayant-cause, et tout roi d'Angleterre; une promesse de défendre lesdits Etats contre ledit George III."[8] Il est assez curieux que le serment de renonciation à la Grande-Bretagne et à son roi décrété pendant cet hiver pour tous les hommes employés au service continental ait été reçu dans la moitié des Etats-Unis par un Français de vingt ans.

En avril, Lafayette était de retour à Valley-Forge. Le 19 mai son génie militaire lui permit de tirer toute son armée d'un piège tendu par les Anglais à Barren Hill. "Ces messieurs s'occupaient obligeamment des moyens d'envoyer à New-York ceux qu'on ne tuerait pas," écrivit-il à sa femme plus tard, "mais ils eurent cependant la complaisance de nous laisser retirer doucement sans nous faire de mal."[9]

Le 28 juin à Monmouth Courthouse (New-Jersey) Lafayette rendit encore d'excellents services à l'armée américaine malgré la retraite insensée et incompréhensible du général Lee qui fut mis aux arrêts le lendemain et ensuite suspendu par un conseil de guerre.

Le 12 juillet, douze vaisseaux français sous la conduite de l'amiral comte d'Estaing parurent à l'entrée de la Delaware. L'annonce de l'arrivée de la flotte française décida les Anglais à évacuer Philadelphie, fit ouvrir tous les ports, rassura toutes les côtes, obligea les vaisseaux ennemis à se concentrer; six frégates anglaises furent prises ou brûlées. Mais! D'Estaing recevait des ordres contradictoires des généraux américains et manqua de belles occasions. Une violente tempête devant Providence sépara et dispersa les vaisseaux français: le César de 74 canons fut perdu, le Marsaillais et le Languedoc étaient démâtés. L'amiral décida à contre-coeur de mener sa flotte à Boston pour faire effectuer les réparations. Le général américain Sullivan soutint que les Français abandonnaient leurs alliés. Lord Carlisle taxa la nation française de perfidie. Lafayette, qui avait servi de liaison entre la marine et l'armée et avait participé à toutes les batailles en fut profondément blessé. Dans une longue lettre adressée à Washington le 25 août 1778, il récapitula objectivement la situation et la résuma en ces termes: "les Français les plus recommandables ont été exposés à beaucoup de désagréments et moi, moi-même, l'ami de l'Amérique, l'ami du général Washington, je suis sur un pied d'hostilité en dedans de nos lignes, plus en vérité que lorsque j'approche de celle des Anglais à Newport."[10] Cinq jours plus tard Washington dépêcha à ses deux majors généraux, Sullivan et Greene, l'ordre de rétablir la bonne entente par tous les moyens possibles. L'offre de duel que Lafayette envoya au président de la commission fut refusée. Le 9 septembre, le président du congrès, Monsieur Laurens envoyait à Lafayette une résolution contenant l'expression des sentiments des représentants des Etats-Unis et leur appréciation du mérite de sa conduite durant l'expédition de Rhode-Island.

Malgré les obstacles qui avaient arrêté Lafayette au début de la campagne projetée dans le nord, il avait embrassé avec chaleur une diversion qui serait opérée au Canada par les forces combinées de la France et de l'Amérique. C'est en partie pour entretenir Louis XVI de ce plan qu'il voulut retourner en France cet hiver là.

Le 21 octobre, le congrès envoya à Lafayette la résolution en trois points suivante: "il est accordé au marquis de Lafayette, major général au service des Etats-Unis, une permission d'aller en France, avec la liberté de fixer l'époque de son retour. Le président offre au marquis de Lafayette les remerciements du congrès pour le zèle désintéressé qui l'a conduit en Amérique, les services qu'il a rendus aux Etats-Unis, par son courage et ses talents, dans beaucoup d'occasions importantes. Le ministre plénipotentiaire des Etats-Unis à la cour de Versailles sera chargé d'offrir en leur nom, au marquis de Lafayette, une épée de prix ornée d'emblèmes convenables."[11] La résolution était accompagnée d'une lettre de recommandation adressée au grand, fidèle et cher allié et ami Louis XVI, roi de France et de Navarre.

Ce n'est que le 11 janvier 1779 que Lafayette quitta Boston et les Etats-Unis à bord de l'Alliance. Son départ fut retardé par une longue maladie "inflammatoire," causée par ses courses et ses fatigues, mais plus encore par son chagrin de Rhode-Island. Il arriva à Brest en février, et à Paris et Versailles fut fêté par tous et, "ce qui vaut bien mieux," embrassé par toutes les femmes.

Le ministère français refusa de faire la conquête du Canada, arguant qu'avant d'ajouter un quatorzième état à ceux qui s'étaient déclarés indépendants, il convenait de délivrer les treize autres du joug des Anglais. Mais il fut réglé qu'un corps de six mille hommes commandé par le lieutenant

général Rochambeau irait se mettre aux ordres du commadant en chef américain. Le secours fut prêt à partir au début de l'année 1780. Lafayette s'embarqua le 19 mars et arriva à Boston le 27 avril. Il fut reçu avec la plus vive joie et le congrès déclara par une résolution du 16 mai qu'il regardait ce retour comme une nouvelle preuve du zèle désintéressé et du dévouement persévérant qui l'avaient justement recommandé à la confiance et à l'estime publique, et qu'il recevait avec satisfaction l'offre des nouveaux services d'un officier de tant de bravoure et de mérite.

Il y eut pendant l'été à Hartford une conférence entre les généraux français et le général Washington accompagné du général Lafayette. En revenant de cette conférence, Washington voulut montrer à Lafayette le fort de West-Point, construit pendant son absence. C'était le 25 septembre, le jour même ou Benedict Arnold, commandant de West Point, apprit que sa trahison était découverte. Il s'enfuit environ une heure avant l'arrivée du général en chef et du marquis.

Pendant l'hiver suivant il y eut une révolte de la ligne de Pennsylvanie. Lafayette était à Philadelphie; le congrès et le pouvoir exécutif qui connaissaient bien son influence sur les troupes l'engagèrent à y aller. Il fut reçu par les troupes avec beaucoup de respect, écouta leurs plaintes et l'affaire fut appaisée.

Une instruction du 20 février 1781 donna au général Lafayette l'order d'essayer de surprendre Arnold, devenu général dans l'armée anglaise à Portsmouth. Le retard de l'arrivée de la flotte française et un renfort de deux mille hommes de troupes d'élite étant allé renforcer Arnold, l'expédition manqua. Lafayette était sur la route du sud, Washington lui ordonna d'aller en Virginie. Le jeune homme, qui depuis longtemps rêvait d'attaquer New-York fut fort déçu mais il obéit et fut récompensé par la célèbre victoire de Yorktown. Après avoir sauvé la riche ville de Richmond de l'occupation anglaise, le principal objet de Lafayette fut de repousser Lord Cornwallis du côté de la mer et de l'enlacer dans les rivières de manière à ce qu'il ne puisse avoir de retraite. Les Anglais se croyaient dans une bonne position, possesseurs d'un port où ils pouvaient recevoir des secours de New-York. Mais la flotte qu'ils attendaient ne fut pas celle qui se montra. Le comte de Grasse arrivait avec une armée navale et trois mille hommes de troupes de débarquement. Le siège de Yorktown commença. Le comte de Rochambeau commandait les Français; les Américains étaient partagés en deux divisions dont l'une était sous le général Lafayette. Il fallait attaquer deux redoutes; la première fut prise à la baïonnette par Lafayette et les troupes américaines; la seconde par les Français, et ce succès détermina la capitulation de lord Cornwallis le 19 octobre 1781. Le lendemain Lafayette écrivait à Monsieur de Maurepas: "La pièce est jouée, Monsieur le comte, et le cinquième acte vient de finir."[12]

L'heureuse issue de cette campagne était un succès aussi flatteur pour Lafayette qu'il était déterminant pour la cause américaine. Le jeune général de vingt-quatre ans prit les instructions du congrès relativement aux affaires des Etats-Unis en Europe et alla s'embarquer à Boston, sur la frégate l'Alliance, le 23 décembre. Il arriva à Lorient le 17 janvier 1782.

Les cours de France et d'Espagne combinèrent une grande opération et confièrent le commandement général de leurs forces de terre et de mer au comte d'Estaing et à Lafayette. Ce dernier s'embarqua à Brest avec quatre bataillons d'infanterie, un équipage d'artillerie, et cinq mille recrues et alla joindre à Cadix le comte d'Estaing qui s'y était rendu par terre en passant par Madrid. Il attendait Lafayette avec six mille Espagnols et les troupes françaises de Gibraltar. Ils avaient l'intention de prendre la Jamaïque, de se porter devant New-York, et ensuite de libérer le Canada. Rochambeau était déjà arrivé dans un port de l'Amérique espagnole pour se joindre à l'expédition. Au moment où ils étaient prêts à mettre la voile arriva la nouvelle du traité signé à Versailles entre la Grande Bretagne et la France le 20 janvier 1783. Lafayette écrivit au président du congrès le 5 février: "Maintenant la noble lutte est terminée et je me réjouis des bienfaits de la paix. Il y a ici (à Cadix) quarante-neuf vaisseaux de ligne et vingt mille hommes avec lesquels le comte d'Estaing devait joindre les forces combinées des Antilles, et qui, pendant l'été, devaient coopérer avec notre armée américaine. Il avait même été accordé que, tandis que le comte d'Estaing agirait ailleurs, j'entrerais dans le Saint-Laurent, à la tête d'un corps français. Pour ce qui me concerne, je n'ai nul regret; mais, indépendamment de tout agrément personnel, on sait que j'ai toujours penché pour l'addition du Canada aux Etats-Unis."[13]

Lafayette s'était promis de retourner après la paix visiter ces Etats dont la liberté, l'indépendance et la prospérité étaient enfin assurées. Il débarqua à New-York le 4 août 1784. Il fut reçu en triomphe dans toutes les villes et campagnes, visita Yorktown, Richmond, théâtre de sa campagne de 1781, puis passa quelque temps à Mount-Vernon. Washington l'accompagna à Baltimore, Annapolis et Philadelphie. Lafayette fut reçu à Trenton dans la salle du congrès où un député de chaque état se rendit pour prendre congé de lui au nom des Etats-Unis et lui faire d'honorables et affectionnés adieux. Puis il visita la Nouvelle-Angleterre et s'embarque à Boston après une superbe fête à laquelle tout le peuple prit part.

De retour en France, Lafayette continua de rendre aux Etats-Unis les services politiques et commerciaux qui dépendaient de lui. Sa maison devint le rendez-vous des Américains. Différentes états ont donné le nom de Lafayette à des villes et à des comtés. L'état de Virginie éleva son buste dans la capitale, Richmond, et le marquis reçut pour lui, son fils et ses descendants le titre de citoyen des Etats-Unis.

Notes

[1]Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du Général Lafayette, publiés par sa famille (Bruxelles: Société belge de librairie, 1837), I, 21.

[2]Ibid., p. 22.

[3]Ibid., p. 34.

[4]Résolution en congrès, le 31 juillet 1777.

[5]Lettre du Général Lafayette à Madame de Lafayette, 1er octobre 1777.

[6]Lettre du Général Lafayette à Madame de Lafayette, 3 février 1778.

[7]Lettre du Général Washington à Madame de Lafayette, 10 mars 1778.

[8]Mémoires, I, 62.

[9]Lettre du Général Lafayette à Madame de Lafayette, 16 juin 1778.

[10]Lettre du Général Lafayette au Général Washington, 25 août 1778.

[11]Résolution en congrès, le 21 octobre 1778.

[12]Lettre du Général Lafayette à Monsieur de Maurepas, 20 octobre 1781.

[13]Lettre du Général Lafayette au Président du congrès, 5 février 1783.

A TALE OF FOUR TRAVELERS: AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN VIEWS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Carolyn H. Wilberger
Portland State University

Travel was an eighteenth-century passion. As with everything else, however, it was colored by "la philosophie." "Voyager"--for pleasure, for business, for diplomacy, frequently for safety--every philosophe did it. Whatever the reason for the journey, however, it was incumbent upon the traveler to record, reflect upon, criticize, analyze, sometimes satirize everything one saw. Having observed every country of Europe, Asia, and America, the French happily invented "foreigners" such as Montesquieu's Persians or Voltaire's Hurons to observe France itself. What, however, were the views of real foreign travelers? Having been analyzed and categorized as to their "national character" by French philosophes, what did foreigners have to say about the French "national character"? Let us consider four men of letters--two Americans and two Russians--who observed French society during two revolutions: Denis Fonvizin and Benjamin Franklin during the American Revolution and Thomas Jefferson and Nicholas Karamzin during the French Revolution.

The American and Russian viewpoints hold special interest because both countries enjoyed unique relationships with France. Russia had just emerged from its centuries of isolation to join the European community. Under two great rulers--Peter the Great (1689-1725) and Catherine the Great (1762-1796)--a policy of Westernization had changed Russia from a semi-oriental barbarian state to a major military and political force in western Europe. Moreover, Russian culture and social life had been born under the aegis of French neo-classicism and Versailles manners. Russian intellectuals like Fonvizin and Karamzin belonged to a society in which the ideal was to speak and act "French." For them, therefore, a visit to France was a pilgrimage to the "mother country," the source of all that was good (or evil) in Russia. The Americans, while in a different position culturally, were also representatives of a "debtor" nation. Although England dominated their cultural heritage, Americans like Franklin and Jefferson were also honored members of that elite group of philosophes founded by the French. They would also come to France seeking to establish and maintain the vital ties between America and its only major ally. Fonvizin, Karamzin, Franklin, and Jefferson--all were men of letters and diplomats. In many respects, they represented the "best" products of French influence on foreign countries--brilliant, well-educated, keen observers who owed much of their formation to French culture. Karamzin and Fonvizin would travel as men of letters; Franklin and Jefferson would reside in France as diplomats. All would contrast "France the model" to "France the reality"; all would compare French society to their own; and all would seek to define for their own purposes the essence of the French "national character."

Franklin and Fonvizin observed France during the early years of the American Revolution (1777-1779). Franklin arrived first (December 1776) as the Colonies' representative at the French court. His eight years in France would produce a Franco-American alliance and a love affair between the French people and the American ambassador. While Franklin was being adored by the French, he was observing them. He liked what he saw. His affection for French women is, of course, notorious: "You mention the Kindness of the French Ladies to me. I must explain that matter. This is the civilest nation upon Earth. . . . Somebody, it seems, gave it out that I lov'd Ladies; and then every body presented me their Ladies (or the Ladies presented themselves) to be embrac'd . . . The French Ladies have however 1000 other ways of rendering themselves agreable; by their various Attentions and Civilities, & their sensible Conversation. 'Tis a delightful People to live with."[1] This was also the essence of Franklin's analysis of the French national character: "I am exceedingly pleas'd with your Account of the French politeness and Civility. . . . I find them here a most amiable Nation to live with. . . . I think the French have no national Vice ascrib'd to them. They have some Frivolities, but they are harmless. To dress their Heads so that a Hat cannot be put on them, and then wear their Hats under their Arms, and to fill their Noses with Tobacco, may be called Follies, perhaps, but they are not Vices. They are only the effects of the tyranny of Custom. In short, there is nothing wanting in the Character of a Frenchman, that belongs to that of an agreable and worthy Man. There are only some Trifles surplus, or which might be spared."[2] Far and away the most positive of our voyagers, Franklin was not uncritical of France. Occasionally a tinge of Yankee religious and political superiority colors his observations. For example, his grandson Benjamin was sent to Geneva for his education because, as grandfather so aptly puts it, "As he is destined to live in a Protestant country, and a Republic, I thought it best to finish his Education where the proper Principles prevail."[3]

So different are Fonvizin's observations that one wonders if he and Franklin were observing the same country at the same time. Fonvizin's views were predetermined by events in Russia. That country's indebtedness to France which produced the Francophilia of the 1740's-1760's also brought feelings of insecurity and inferiority. Thus the 1770's was a period of bitter Francophobia for many intellectuals. Fonvizin earned his reputation as Russia's greatest comedy writer of the eighteenth century with his two biting satires of Gallomania and the Frenchified Russian fop--The Brigadier (1769) and The Young Hopeful (1781). The former ridiculed the pretensions of young uneducated Russians who adopted wholesale French language, dances, clothing, and manners while treating their homeland, their heritage, and their parents with undisguised contempt. As the fop Ivanushka had said: "Every person who's been in Paris has the right, speaking about Russians, not to include himself in their number because he has already become more a Frenchman than a Russian. . . . [Being a Russian] is not the kind of misfortune that can soon be

eradicated from one's thoughts . . . It appears to us as a dream, as an 'illusion,' . . . My body was born in Russia, that's true, but my soul belonged to the crown of France."[4] Fonvizin, translator of Voltaire, would prove that his soul still belonged to the throne of Russia.

Fonvizin's visit to France (December 1977-August 1778) coincided with some of the most exciting events of the century: Franklin's popularity was at its heighth as the Franco-American alliance was concluded and Voltaire's brief return to Paris was a veritable apotheosis of the patriarch of the Englightenment. Fonvizin liked only two things in France--the climate and the comedies. French cities were filthy (as was French table linen); all France was in mortagage. All France that is except "les filles," who made Paris a "city to rival Sodom and Gomorrah!"[5] Fonvizin himself was more interested in sedate tourist attractions such as the philosophes. As a group, they are "charlatans," whose chief attributes are arrogance, envy, and insidiousness. Two of them, nevertheless, merit special attention. At the theater Mme Fonvizin was greeted by Voltaire, "who made a gesture as if to indicate that he himself was surprised by his own fame." Then Fonvizin had the pleasure of attending a meeting of the Academy of Sciences where Voltaire was present: "I sat quite near him and did not take my eyes off the relic. I have been promised to be shown Rousseau and as soon as I see him then I can say that I have seen all the sages of this century."[6] Rousseau, however, had the bad grace to die before the encounter, leaving Fonvizin railing at the unfairness of fate. Fonvizin was also aware of the American situation, noting the departure of the English from the capital and the work of "the famous Franklin." He sees French participation in the Revolution as inevitable. One would think from the description of Louis XVI's government, however, that it is the French who should be revolting. The French legal system is so riddled with abuses that "to live in it is calamitous and to destroy it is fatal. The first right of every Frenchman is liberty; but his true present condition is slavery."[7] He doubts French ability to correct abuses because of the national character: "There is no more gullible and foolish nation on earth than the French."[8] They have nothing to offer but affectation, stupidity, flightiness, and ignorance; they talk very fast but think very little. There is no compassion or morality: "Everyone lives here just for himself. Friendship, kinship, honor, gratitude--all these things are regarded as chimeras . . . Amusement is the one object of a Frenchman's desires; deceit is considered a right of intellect."[9] Fonvizin not surprisingly concludes that "travelers are lying unscrupulously when they describe France as a paradise on earth . . . At least my wife and I believe that it is incomparably better to live in Saint Petersburg . . . I shall not return to France a second time."[10] Still he recommends that France be included in the "grand tour" of every Russian for "there is no truer means of restoring to them their due love of country than to send them as quickly as possible on a trip to France. Here they will learn quite soon by their own experience that all tales about how everything French is perfect are nothing but bald lies."[11]

Some ten years later, France would again host prominent American and Russian visitors. The American was Thomas Jefferson, Franklin's successor as ambassador (1784-1789). Known and respected for his political writings, Jefferson was sought out by the Americanists (mostly French nobles who had served in the American armies) and moderate revolutionaries such as LaFayette. In spite of his good background in French culture and enlightenment philosophy, Jefferson never escaped a puritanical suspicion of French culture, making him the prototype of the American "innocent abroad." It was not that Jefferson disliked the French: "I am much pleased with the people of this country. The roughnesses of the human mind are so thoroughly rubbed off with them that it seems as if one might glide thro' a whole life among them without a justle."[12] They shine in the arts. And yet the French are not happy; their constant fickle preoccupation with intrigues of love is escapism. Their curse is a bad form of government whose vices grind the people to powder. Jefferson issues a warning to Americans: "Nourish peace with their persons, but war against their manners. Every step we take towards the adoption of their manners is a step towards perfect misery."[13] This fear of contamination becomes a constant theme. Only medicine and foreign languages should be studied in Europe. The American in Paris acquires a fondness for European luxury and dissipation and a contempt for American simplicity (shades of Fonvizin!): "He returns to his own country a foreigner."[14]

While moderately sympathetic toward the French Revolution, Jefferson failed to perceive its magnitude. What concerned him most was its impact on America. He was flattered and encouraged by the bows the early moderate Revolutionaries made toward the American Revolution. He was convinced that July 1789 had seen the worst and that moderate reforms would be made. This could only make France stronger, thus making America even more secure against England. His tour as ambassador ended in September 1789, but he would continue to defend the French alliance as secretary of state even when he was personally sickened by the Terror. Only as president would Jefferson come to appreciate the dangers of French imperialism. Still, writing in his later years, Jefferson would close his account of his mission to France with his now famous benediction: "So, ask the traveller inhabitant of any nation, in what country would you rather live?--Certainly in my own . . . Which would be your second choice? France."[15]

Some six months after Jefferson's departure, Nicholas Karamzin arrived for a four-month stay. At 23, the future leader of Russia's Sentimental movement was a well-educated cosmopolitan Western European. He sought out the monuments of French culture, rhapsodizing over Rousseau in Switzerland and visiting Ferney, home of the "most illustrious writer of our age."[16] He approached Paris with the enthusiasm of a pilgrim: "There it is . . . the city which for so many centuries has been the model for all Europe, the fount of taste and fashion; the city whose name is pronounced with reverence by the learned and unlearned, philosophers and fops, artists and fools in Europe and Asia, in America and Africa, whose name became known to me almost together with my own; the city about which I have read so much in novels, have so often dreamed,

so often thought!"[17] Karamzin devours the city and its inhabitants, astonished by the rapidity of action and speech and revolted by the confusion of wealth and poverty.

His analysis of the national character is sympathetic but cliché: "It has been said of the Athenians, I think, that they made light of serious matters and treated trifles with gravity. The same may be said of the French . . . I say 'Fire, air'---and I have defined the character of the French. I know no people more intelligent, more fiery, and more volatile than the French. It seems as though they created social life, or as though it was created for them . . . The flightiness and inconstancy which are defects in his character are joined with amiable qualities of the soul . . . The moments of his passion, his rapture, his hate can have terrible consequences---the revolution, for example. What a pity if this terrible political change should also change the character of a people so spirited, so witty, so amiable!"[18] This view of the "fickle French" combined with Karamzin's own political conservatism explain perhaps his leisurely, tourist's approach to the Revolution. He never ceases to be amazed that such an event would occur among so amiable a people and steadfastly refuses to believe that the majority will become involved. His final judgment of France is Jeffersonian: "I want to live and die in by beloved fatherland, but after Russia there is no country more pleasing to me than France, where a foreigner often forgets that he is not among his own people"[19] This is surely the reason for Karamzin's loving embrace of France. He felt that France belonged to him and that he belonged to France. That is not to say that Karamzin was one of Fonvizin's Frenchified fops. It was simply that the former interpreted Westernization in terms of enlightened cosmopolitanism. Thus he gives a ringing defense of Peter the Great's policies: "The path to education and enlightenment is the same for all nations . . . Foreigners knew more than Russians, and thus we had to borrow from them, to learn from them . . . The main thing is to be human beings, not Slavs."[20]

Thus France was observed by travelers from opposite corners of the world. These representatives of two newly "enlightened" nations, two French "protégés," came to France with specific prejudices and differing missions. Fonvizin, seeking proof of Russian superiority, found it in French foibles and filth. Karamzin, making a pilgrimage to his intellectual homeland, found a second home. Franklin, seeking French aid and the pleasures of society, secured both. Jefferson, trying to preserve the simplicity of American democracy, felt threatened by the sophistication of French aristocracy. Given these different prejudices and goals, there was, nevertheless, some common ground. All would admit (sometimes grudgingly) France's contributions to the arts and sciences. Most felt at least slightly uneasy about the possibility of "contamination" by French vices. Tones of political, social, and moral superiority were hard to avoid, even for Franklin. Perhaps the most astonishing point, however, is the unanimous agreement as to what constitutes the French national character. While reactions to the French varied with the individual, all would agree that they were amiable, social, flighty, and fickle. It was because of these very qualities---the universal clichés of the "fickle, fiery French"--that both Russians and Americans would be stunned by the events of the French Revolution.

Notes

[1]Letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Partridge (Passy, 11 Oct. 1779) in The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Albert Henry Smyth (New York: Macmillan, 1906), VII, 393-94.

[2]Letter to Josiah Quincy (Passy, 22 April 1779), Writings, VII, 289-90.

[3]Letter to J. Q. Adams (Passy, 21 April 1779), Writings, VII, 288-89.

[4]Brigadier in The Literature of Eighteenth-Century Russia, ed. and trans. Harold B. Segel (New York: Dutton, 1967), II, 349, 344. Brigadier was the last play performed in the Moscow theater before the French occupation and the first staged after the victory in 1814.

[5]Letters from My Second Journey Abroad in The Literature of Eighteenth-Century Russia, I, 328. Fonvizin and his wife made an extensive journey throughout western Europe in 1777-1778. His observations and opinions, recorded in letters to his sister and to a friend, circulated widely in manuscript before being published posthumously.

[6]Fonvizin, I, 329, 33.

[7]Fonvizin, I, 335.

[8]Fonvizin, I, 320.

[9]Fonvizin, I, 326, 337.

[10]Fonvizin, I, 308.

[11]Fonvizin, I, 337.

[12]Letter to Eliza House Trist (Paris, 18 Aug. 1785), in The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1958), VIII, 404.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Letter to John Banister, Jr. (Paris, 15 Oct. 1785), Papers, VIII, 657.

[15]As cited in Gilbert Chinard, Thomas Jefferson--The Apostle of Americanism, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1960), p. 240. For Jefferson's views of the Revolution see Lawrence S. Kaplan, Jefferson and France: An Essay on Politics and Political Ideas (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1967).

[16]Letters of a Russian Traveler 1789-1790, ed. and trans. Florence Jonas (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957), p. 147. Karamzin's Letters are the foremost example of the "sentimental journey" in Russian literature of the eighteenth century. Some half of the letters were first published in the Moscov Journal 1791-1792. Others appeared in various works in 1794-1795. The Letters appeared in book form only in 1797. These four small volumes, however, did not contain the complete text. Karamzin delayed publication of the rest of his letters until 1801 when the political climate in Russia permitted him to treat the French Revolution. German, English, Dutch, Polish, and French translations of some or all of the letters appeared before 1815.

[17]Karamzin, p. 179.

[18]Karamzin, pp. 252-53. See also A. G. Cross, N. M. Karamzin: A Study of His Literary Career 1783-1803 (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1971).

[19]Karamzin, p. 253.

[20]Karamzin, pp. 219, 221. The events of the French Revolution and his own historical studies of Russia would change Karamzin's view of Peter's Westernization policies. In his Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russian (1810-1811) he would criticize Peter for going too far in the imitation of the West, thus humiliating Russians and creating a gulf between the westernized upper class and the mass of Russian citizens. Voltaire and Rousseau had anticipated this Slavophile-Westernizer controversy. For further details see my Peter the Great: An Eighteenth-Century Hero of Our Times? in Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 96 (1972), pp. 9-127.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: FORK IN THE ROAD?

Michael H. Macdonald
Seattle Pacific University

Language is not just a vital tool of communication. And language study is going to be most meaningful only when we go one step beyond an emphasis on languages as tools. Language study in a broader context deals with what communication communicates (communication of what? and for what?).

During the 1980's we will want to communicate cultural traditions and the attitudes and values of the people of the target language in our foreign language classes. But once we agree on that (and I think we may have basic agreement on that today), the next question is "How do we best teach these attitudes and values?" I conclude that while foreign language departments are a vital part of the answer to this question, a strong interdisciplinary program with foreign languages forming the base is the best way to get at attitudes and values of a people. Yet it is rare when language departments, in devising new and relevant language programs, cooperate sufficiently with colleagues in the other disciplines which are also concerned with culture as it is broadly conceived. Certainly anthropology, art and music, history, philosophy, and sociology ought to be involved. There is little doubt in my mind that the thrust of international education must be interdisciplinary in nature. Moreover, if we are going to achieve our most profound impact, some of the courses will have to be team-taught.

But why international studies at all? Let me list three reasons: (1) our students are regrettably parochial in their viewpoint, and studies of foreign cultures should help the student overcome these limitations; (2) international studies are more attractive to the student than the traditional foreign language program; and (3) many of our problems today are international in scope--the value of the dollar, oil shortages, nuclear proliferation, food shortages, to name but four.

Harold Howe II, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, sees a clear relationship between American monocultural attitudes and some of our current domestic problems: "The entire history of discrimination is based on the prejudice that because someone else is different, he is somehow worse. If we could teach all our children--black, white, brown, yellow and all the American shades in between--that diversity is not to be feared or suspected, but enjoyed and valued, we would be well on the way toward achieving the equality we have always proclaimed as a national characteristic."[1]

Although we are indeed making progress in this area, it is still true that even in America in many situations the long haired bearded ones, or those whose first language is Spanish, or those who are black or Indian, are much more restricted in their opportunities than short-haired, cleanly shaven, English-speaking, Anglo-Americans with comparable abilities.[2] This kind of discrimination and oppression has no place in our or any other value system. As Edward Dirks, vice chancellor for Humanities of the University of California, Santa Cruz, said recently: "Perhaps never has it seemed more essential to stress the role that intimate knowledge of various foreign countries--their cultures, languages, and mores--can assume in international relations."[3] Unless we and our leaders in government, the Armed Forces and business are interested in peoples with different tastes and mind-sets, we will be a part of the big problem which will confront mankind instead of contributing to its solution.

Our emerging interdependent world, for which we must prepare ourselves and our students, makes it no longer advisable (in most instances) to place such an emphasis upon a single national culture as we have done in the past. Our traditional language major is designed to prepare students to pursue graduate work in the target language or to obtain a teaching credential for the elementary or secondary level. The traditional program places emphasis on developing the ability to interpret literary texts and on bringing the student to a level of high proficiency in all aspects of grammar and stylistics. The never international studies majors and/or area studies majors are designed for students who wish to acquire a solid humanistic background in international studies but who do <u>not</u> wish to concentrate on developing the skill of literary analysis and/or high proficiency in all aspects of grammar and stylistics.

I am concluding both from what I experience and from what I read in scholarly journals that students interested in foreign languages today want to make practical use of the languages they study. Learning to read literature in the original language may have been my goal for learning German, but students today study German to speak it, read it, and write it, not just to have access to Goethe and Schiller in the original. Now we may lament this fact, but, like inflation, we are going to have to live with it in order to preserve some other things which we value.

Our educational system will continue to move in the direction of providing multilingual and multicultural education. International exchanges of all types will expand, and language faculty will want to continue to develop credible responses to these events. Under the general category of international education I am thinking of some of the following area studies: European Studies, Latin American Studies, Slavic Studies, Chinese or Asian Studies, etc. Some colleges and universities have clearly defined curricula of programs for international education.

Certainly somewhere in an International Studies program we will want to attract and use faculty expertise from non-foreign language departments. I am gratified at the number of courses with an international orientation on Seattle Pacific's campus (2,200 member student body). Consider the following examples--(1) History: Modern Europe; 19th Century Europe; 20th Century Europe; Europe Since World War II; International Peace and World Order; (2) Political Science: Modern Political Systems; International Relations; (3) Classics: Greek Civilization; Roman Civilization; (4) Economics: International Business; (5) English: Backgrounds of Continental Literature; Foreign Literature in Translation. Many other courses at Seattle Pacific in English, art, music and drama also deal with themes of European Studies. These were noted by talking directly with the faculty involved or reading the course syllabi.

Once one has identified available campus resources, one can proceed to develop a clearly defined proposal for an international studies curriculum. The most practical approach is if international studies can be considered the general focus, while the student also chooses a more specific concentration. Examples would be European Studies/German (French); European Studies/Political Science; European Studies/History, etc. However, international studies must be structured so that several traditional disciplines are engaged together. In addition, precautions must be taken so that the planned program is something of significance and does not become a secondary responsibility for an individual faculty member.

A crucial part of each international studies proposal is a study-abroad component. When reading through the literature on international education, one is struck constantly by the insistence on the importance of exposing students directly to a foreign culture. The consensus seems to be that there is nothing we can do on the home campus which can take the place of study abroad.

International education is most certainly a much broader concept than study abroad or foreign language study. Ideally, however, the two should be tied together. It is difficult to conceive of international study without the aiding tool of at least one foreign language. Unfortunately, language study has sometimes been squeezed out of interdisciplinary programs and international studies, even though, as the basis for all culture, it must be included. I have found that the elimination of language study occurs when and where decisions have been made on the basis of personnel rather than on the basis of principle.

Edward Dirks has written cogently that for an understanding of human culture and civilization one needs "available avenues of entrée into their concepts, attitudes, and outlooks. Languages are the most faithful mirrors at our disposal, and the reflection takes on reality when literatures, documents, artifacts, and so on are appropriated through their own media."[4] Knowledge of language is an indispensable part of understanding a people and its culture. Try to envision an authority on American Studies with little or no knowledge of English!

American educators take it for granted that foreign students who come to the U.S. will already know English, or that they will learn it in some special program once they are here. Yet we often send our own students to foreign countries with little or no language competence and expect that they will be welcomed with open arms.

However, even if an international studies program exists without the involvement of a foreign language department, I would still promote the concept of international education and foreign study for these students. It will eventually be of benefit to both the students and the language department.

Organized study abroad programs for American undergraduates have been in existence for more than 50 years. The first group of eight left America for Paris in 1923 and since the inauguration of this Delaware program numerous American students have traveled and studied abroad in organized programs.

One of the major objectives of virtually all students, irrespective of what type of program in which they become involved, is that they develop an understanding of the foreign culture. When one foreign study authority queried students about what they meant by better understanding of a foreign culture, the answers varied somewhat, although they included coming to know persons in the university and community and "being able to understand and appreciate customs, practices, political and social beliefs."[5]

Allan Pfnister has found that students studying abroad today want the language to become "a working tool." What students want is to be able to attend lectures, pass exams, and converse with people. They want to be able to find their way about in the community and to feel comfortable in speaking and listening. Language majors are, of course, concerned about literature and history, but these students are in the minority of Americans studying abroad today.[6]

Some students list the pursuit of a particular field of specialization other than language, literature, and culture as the main objective in desiring to study abroad. However, a word of caution is in order here. Many areas can be more profitably studied in the United States, and some study areas which are well-established here are relatively unknown in foreign universities. Sociology, psychology, and political science are, for example, relatively small disciplines in many European countries.[7] Technical subjects are usually taught at other separate institutions with university status. The creative and performing arts are taught in special academies and conservatories. Fields not taught at all at foreign universities may include the dramatic arts, home economics, marketing, music, and photography.

Since the European secondary school usually provides more specialized training than the high schools in the U.S., their graduates will be prepared to pursue more advanced courses at the university than their American counterparts. The European secondary school graduate is also one year older. For these and other reasons the European university level of work is in many respects comparable to graduate study in the U.S., and most foreign universities prefer that U.S. students hold a B.A. from a U.S. university before they are admitted. In many cases, a minimum of two years of college work is required for entrance.

All of this helps to explain why 90% of all U.S. undergraduates who go abroad to study are not enrolled in the foreign university in the same way as the native student. The student's "lack of specialized preparation, his inadequate technical knowledge of the foreign language and the special regulations and requirements of the foreign university in regard to examinations and degrees . . . combine to prevent him from having this official status."[8]

Germany is a typical example. Only about 7% of German pupils reach the "Abitur," the high school diploma required for entrance to the university.[9] Conversely, in some states in the U.S., every graduate of a public high school in a college preparatory course is qualified to be admitted to a state university. As Stephen Freeman states: "By and large, higher education in the United States is intellectually democratic; higher education abroad is for the intellectual elite, with all the difference which this implies."[10]

The trend today is to broaden the objectives for any one program. Even though there is essential agreement among program evaluators that objectives must be limited and clearly defined, most programs are "incorporating increasingly broader ranges of purposes."[11] This move toward broad objectives may be due to increased competition for enrollments, or it may reflect the many American students who want to "do their own thing."

What will happen to the student when studying abroad? The answer is of course extremely complex. Ruth Purkaple, Director of Study Abroad at the University of Colorado, states: "His (the student's) background, aspirations, anticipation, previous experiences as well as the actual events determine the changes which occur. Predicting which students will be successful abroad is an inexact art, to say the least."[12] One very important factor in determining the probable success of a particular student is his motivation. If one knows <u>why</u> the student wishes to study abroad, one can generally know whether or not he will succeed: ". . . almost always the student gets what he came for."[13]

There is a risk in sending students abroad. If the student has been seriously involved in cross-cultural learning, he will not return as he has gone. Some may have lost their national and philosophical roots but most, while no longer completely of their own culture, will not be wholly of the foreign culture either. Irwin Abrams, paraphrasing Karl Marx states: "But if they had nothing to lose but their cultural chains, they have a world to win."[14]

Some 1.1% of all students enrolled in the U.S. participated in a foreign students' program during 1973.[15] <u>U.S. College-Sponsored Programs Abroad</u> lists 669 places in 60 different countries for this academic year (1976-77).[16] Options vary significantly in cost and quality. Requirements go from a minimum of three years of college-level language to many programs which require no competency in the foreign language for admission.

Generally speaking, I would not recommend establishing a study abroad program which would run for a full year. There are numerous well-established year-long programs of good quality which will accept students from other universities. Some colleges and universities oppose sending a student abroad for up to a full year for financial reasons. Particularly small tuition supported colleges are not enthusiastic about having any student away from campus for as much as 30% of his undergraduate life. From an educational standpoint, I'm strongly supportive of the year-long stay abroad. However, it can have rather severe financial implications. There are also several well organized and successful semester programs which might well fit into the logistics of an international studies program. Where a semester or year-long program cannot be recommended, a program of shorter duration is still preferable to no exposure whatsoever. These programs are best done by each institution. The success of the program will depend largely on the charisma and effectiveness of the professor as well as the efficiency with which they are set up.

In any event, the benefits that a department derives from students who have returned from abroad must not be overlooked. Opportunity for foreign study will appear very attractive to many students; it will be seen as an asset in terms of recruiting students for on-campus international studies and foreign language curricula. Investigate the possibility of cooperating with an existing program.

It is often said the profession moves from fad to fad. Change does seem to be the norm of the day. I think I see an increasing emphasis on international education, but even if I am right, change will not end with a curricular emphasis on international education or some modification of it. Another "ism" will replace it and form another orthodoxy. But no matter what, let's not forget that we will always be in the business of encouraging the transfer of learning from one context to another to help students apply what they have learned to new situations. The process of acquiring knowledge will always be more important than any sepcific curricular interest. As Erich Fromm has said: "The central task of education is to implant a will and facility for learning, it should produce not learned but learning people. The

truly human society is a learning society, where grandparents, parents, and children are students together. In a time of drastic change it is the learners who inherit the future. The learned usually find themselves equipped to live in a world that no longer exists."[17]

Notes

[1]Frank M. Grittner, "Pluralism in foreign language education," Pluralism in Foreign Language Education, ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education, 3 (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1973), p. 16, citing Howe.

[2]Ibid., p. 13.

[3]J. Edward Dirks, "Strengthening Foreign Languages in Humanities and in International Studies," ADFL Bulletin, 8, ii (November 1976), p. 26.

[4]Ibid., p. 28.

[5]Allan O. Pfnister, "The American Student Abroad: Changing Characteristics of Programs," Study Abroad--An Up-dated Report (1976), ed. Michael Macdonald, unpublished pamphlet, 1976, p. 3.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Allan O. Pfnister, "Quality Control for Study Abroad Programs," International Educational and Cultural Exchange (Washington, D.C., U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, Winter 1972-73), p. 28.

[8]Stephen A. Freeman, Planning for Study Abroad (New York: Institute of International Education, 1966).

[9]Wulf Koepke, Die Deutschen: Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1971), p. 163.

[10]Freeman, p. 5.

[11]Pfnister, "The American Student Abroad: Changing Characteristics of Programs," p. 22.

[12]Ruth Purkaple, "American Students Abroad," International Educational and Cultural Exchange (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Advisory Commission on International and Cultural Affairs, Winter 1972), p. 70.

[13]John A. Wallace, "Selection of Participants," Occasional Papers on Undergraduate Study Abroad, Council on Student Travel, No. 4, n.d., p. 3.

[14]Irwin Abrams, "Why Study Abroad," Occasional Papers on Undergraduate Study Abroad, Council on Student Travel, No. 4, n.d., p. 4.

[15]Leonard P. Iaquinta, "Observations on the State of International Education," ADFL Bulletin, 7, ii (November 1975).

[16]Joe K. Fugate, "Confessions of an American Foreign Study Enthusiast," ADFL Bulletin, 8, ii (November 1976), p. 32.

[17]Erich Fromm, Reflections on the Human Condition (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), #32.

STUDY ABROAD AND SUBVERSION

Louis A. Olivier
University of Oregon

One of the characters of André Malraux's novel La Condition humaine (Man's Fate), Tchen, was placed by his uncle in a missionary school. The uncle, who intended for Tchen to learn English and French from the missionaries, was upset to discover that his nephew has absorbed Christian ideology as well. Later, at the University of Peking, one of Tchen's professors, old Gisors, discovers that Tchen cannot live with an ideology which does not translate itself into action and sets out to "free" him of his Christianity. To do so the old Chinese professor does not resort to argument; Malraux writes: "When his new master opposed to Christianity not arguments, but alternative forms of greatness, faith slipped through Tchen's fingers little by little with no crisis."[1]

What I am interested in here is not the specifics of the ideological conflict involved, but old Gisors' pedagogical technique. What he does is to recognize a profound personal need in Tchen, a need which calls for an ideological instrument but can be met fully only through an ideology offering both greatness and action. Clearly, the last way to convince Tchen of the inadequacy of his current allegiance is to attack it by argument, since argument will supply the opportunity for the pseudo-action of defensiveness. The simple unpolemical presentation of alternatives is more persuasive and, therefore, more subversive than the alternative.

What I want to assert in these remarks is that the presentation of alternatives is almost always subversive. I conclude, therefore, that study abroad is inherently subversive. That thought ought to give us pause, particularly those of us involved in the organization of programs and devoted to their improvement and efficiency.

Efficiency for what? For subversion? For the control of it? For the disarming of it?

I should make it clear immediately that by subversion I do not mean quite what J. Edgar Hoover and his minions used to mean, i.e. something like the immediate and violent overthrow of the government, or the shipping of state secrets to a foreign power. What I have in mind could lead to such activity, but it could lead just as easily to non-violent revolutionary change in the direction of a more rational use of resources, greater justice, or more humane institutions than are seen at present.

To explain what I do mean, let me first quote from an article by two social scientists concerning the way we create and order our world:

> Now, the human enterprise of producing a world is not comprehensible as an individual project. Rather, it is a social process: men together engage in constructing a world, which then becomes their common dwelling. Indeed, since sociality is a necessary element of human being, the process of world production is necessarily a social one. Man the world-builder and man the name-giver are possible only as manifestations of man the social being. Every human society can thus be understood as a world-building enterprise, that is, as world-building human activity.
>
> The reality of such a world is given neither in itself nor once and for all. It must be constructed and re-constructed over and over again. That is, the world must be continuously realized, in the double sense of this word, as actualization and recognition. To put this a little differently, the world remains real, in the sense of subjective plausibility and consistency, only as it is confirmed and re-confirmed. This, again, takes place in a social process--the world must be confirmed and re-confirmed by others. Just as the world cannot be constituted by the individual in isolation, so it is not inhabitable by the individual in isolation. Being in the world means, for man, being in the world with others. This follows inevitably from the insight that the world is produced by means of a human enterprise that is social in character.[2]

The way many of us consciously experience the world, however, may be quite different. We tend to feel that our situation is that of individuals deposited in a world which we perceive as a datum, literally, a given. When people forget that the world (meaning of course the human world, not molecules or the Rocky Mountains) is a human product, when they break the link between the producer and the produced, the effect is paradoxically one of security. When we reify the world, treat and accept it as a thing, we are, however, apparently doing what comes naturally and our ability to function in the world seems dependent on our not bringing it perpetually into question.

Anything which does bring the structure of that world into question is subversive. It has been said that all true art is subversive, precisely because it reorders experience differently. The violence which often greets artistic change suggests the point is well-taken. However that may be both scholarship and our own experience establish the extremely unsettling effects of crossing from one culture to another whether we call these effects culture shock or strangerhood.[3] "Culture contact of any intensity tends to lead to a crisis in 'knowledge,' as one is confronted with alternative ways of perceiving the world and ordering one's life within it."[4] Pullberg and Berger, whom I am quoting here, go on to remind us that in ancient times, when the shock often involved whole peoples, it was given mythic expression as nothing less than a "clash of the gods."

Such language will scarcely seem hyperbolic to the typical year abroad student, particularly if one were to consult that person in, say, late November. One recent letter from Poitiers includes the following: "Culture shock is a reality, and it is hard to be stripped of everything but my name. My language, my heritage, my social conventions are of no use or support to me, thus I'm vulnerable to every little thing. The post office, the telephones, the toilets, the bus schedules are all occasions to blow." This student, perhaps atypically, recognizes that it is her disorientation which makes her vulnerable to "every little thing," and does not make the mistake of assuming it is merely an accumulation of such things which create the "shock." One can, after all, get used to strange toilet paper and the absence of round doorknobs without ever learning much about the foreign culture.

In fact a part of the process which may well become the end of it is a hardening of ethnocentrism. Even the rebellious, the unconventional, often find themselves discoverers of the virtuous "we." The phrases are well known: "Well, at least in America we don't . . ." "Where I come from we always . . ." "Oh yeah, well we do . . . !" Isolation in a foreign environment coupled with a vigorous attack can bring on with dizzying speed the twilight of even the most rebellious, the ruggedest individualism. So deeply rooted in most of us is the collective identity that we will even defend what we thought was indefensible. I find anecdotal evidence of a rather extreme sort in the following episode, all the more dramatic for me because I myself am the protagonist.

Three of us, U.S. Army officers stationed in West Berlin, crossed into the Communist sector to do Christmas shopping in 1967. While we stood together at the counter of a crowded shop the door opened with a crash behind us and a loud male voice began to shout imprecations in English directed at us. Now only a day or two before I had been involved in an animated discussion with other officers whom I had angered by my disagreement with the war in Vietnam. Some of the things we heard coming at our backs, I had said myself: When would we stop maiming Vietnamese children? When would we stop destroying the ecology of Vietnam? How many more people would die before we realized we had no business there? But hearing the same things directed at me, there in that East German shop, I found the blood rushing to my face both in embarassment and in anger, and I was about to spin around--certainly not to say Amen!--when some Germans intervened and persuaded the critic to leave.

Perhaps I should not so unashamedly reveal the weakness of my character. But I think the example a far from isolated one and I could supply many others of which I am not the dubious hero. Starting with the Oregon student in a group under my direction who, on the first cold, rainy day in Poitiers greeted me in the hall with an accusing "It's never this cold in Oregon!" (This was, incidentally, barely nine months after the great Oregon ice storm of 1973.)

Persons who become aware of a hardening, or discovery, of national loyalties, may deal with it in different ways, some more productive than others. They may simply decide they are more patriotic than they had realized and feel a certain satisfaction. They may muse philosophically on the inconsistency and unpredictability of their own character or, Puck-like, wryly acknowledge human foolishness. At the very least what they ought to be learning is the bankruptcy of the very notion of individualism as it is usually understood. They ought to be recognizing that they are not simply "carriers" of their culture (like carriers of a flu virus?) but are in a sense personifications of it. Those who prefer the term "stranger theory" to the older "culture shock" are perhaps underestimating the importance of what is happening: the crisis is not simply that of an individual who finds himself a stranger, but is truly a shock of cultures even though the terrain for the conflict is called Mary Lou Peterson of Cottage Grove, Oregon.

How do we deal officially with this "clash of gods?" Well, first of all, we do our very best to de-mythologize and domesticate it. It is perfectly "normal," we assure our students. It is a phase "everyone" goes through. We identify its symptoms for them, at least its most trivial symptoms (homesickness, yearning for peanut butter, nostalgia for a Big Mac, etc.) and even predict its ups and downs on the calendar. We place a value on, and reward, a "good adjustment," which can be defined mostly in terms of the absence of the symptoms just mentioned, for by adjustment we tend to mean "happiness," or "cheerfulness" and a modicum of academic success. If they are having a good time and have made host country friends they have weathered the storm, and we can breathe the customary sigh of relief.

What we may well have done, however, is to trivialize the most important experience they have had abroad. And we have encouraged the student to believe that "acquiring" another culture consists largely in "getting used" to using a fork a different way, knowing how to write an explication de texte and how soon to switch from the formal to the familiar pronoun. A recent student of stranger theory asserts that "American students in their junior year abroad are by definition not exchanging one culture for another but adding one culture to another."[5] It is an interesting metaphor: presumably one can go on piling one culture on top of the other like a Christmas shopper until the pile topples of its own weight. But it, like most quantitative metaphors, is an unhappy expression for genuine learning, i.e. change, that siamese twin of subversion.

Why else send people at such great expense to spend the year abroad except to subvert their view of the world? "Why, to teach them the foreign language, of course." This self-evident answer is not quite as obvious as it sounds. Have we genuine scientific evidence that our students return from abroad with greater language proficiency than a similar expenditure of time and resources would have made possible here at home, and that therefore no real comparison is possible only underlines my point: the so-called

cultural opportunity is the deciding factor even though everyone talks of the linguistic advantages. The literature of the programs as well as the declared goals of students stress the cultural aspects of the experience. We need go no further than the flyer for our own Oregon State System program in France: here we read that student visitors are "overwhelmed by the richness, variety and beauty of the great man-made monuments of French creative history . . . ." Further along the brochure tells of the "constant humanitarian basis for the evolution of French civilization" and the latter's "key role in History" (note the upper case H). And so on.

We may ask whether even French "civilization" is best studied where it was made. Insofar as that study is part of a genuine intellectual discipline such as history, sociology, literary criticism, political science or philosophy, it would be absurd to tie it to a geographical locale. Not even the material monuments of the creative past impose themselves spiritually by their simply physical reality: how much does the average tourist actually see of Chartres?

We must look much more closely at what we mean by cultural opportunities. Some of us seem to believe that the return to the old world is the discovery of the roots of our own culture. There is some merit to this view, but logic would suggest that to jump from the top branch (the present) to the roots (the European past) overlooks a substantial part of the tree (the immediate past, the entire post-European American experience). Anyway, let us be realistic: it is not in the shadow of the Tour Montparnasse or in the Quartier de la Défense or on the Autoroute du Sud that the student is going to discover our European past. And even when the visitor leaves the superhighway he may continue to be less interested in vestiges of the past like the Romanesque churches of Saintonge than in that fascinating embodiment of the present, the other members of his own student group.

Confronted with the products of culture the student--like most of the rest of us--is in need of mediators. When I asked earlier how much the tourist actually saw of Chartres I meant the word both literally and culturally: unaided in a confrontation with so complex a cultural artifact as a Gothic cathedral we often are functionally blind. What I mean by mediators is a book, or a guide, or even a teacher.

If ever a teacher had an opportunity to be the mediator for a student, to act as the midwife in a painful birth, it is in the experience of culture shock. Instead of playing the midwife, however, many of us do our utmost to convince the student there really is no baby. We reduce these birth pangs to something like a bad attack of indigestion and, like the kindly mother figure of the television commercials, concentrate on offering symptomatic relief. Our concern for the students' immediate sense of well-being leads even very astute analysts of the year abroad to suggest that the ideal experience for the student would be to live in a middle-class family,[6] or to declare that if the student is content and can feel at home "progress on all fronts is rapid."[7] Such talk smacks of having your cake and eating it too, though in this case the cake looks suspicious.

What can be born out of the pain and anxiety of culture shock is what the French call "une prise de conscience," which I would translate as a seizing of consciousness because the opportunity may pass quickly and the act is a radical one. It is not a simple act and the mind can easily be diverted into a preoccupation with trivia. Never more than in that state of anxiety and disorientation is the person more likely to understand the collectively produced nature of his own culture or to recognize the possibility of alternatives--not necessarily the alternative of French, German, or Japanese culture, but the alternative of other creative forms of culture in general.

We must begin discussing the significance of culture shock with students before they leave for overseas, continue once they are there, and carry it on after their return. Not in terms of strategies for survival, which are always an endorsement of the status quo, but in terms of self- and social-consciousness. It is a dangerous business, of course, because we cannot be sure where it will lead--either for them or for us. But it will certainly not lead us to jet set dilettantism or xenophobic retreat, nor will it encourage a proliferation of bogus Frenchmen or Germans.

We need no cure for culture shock. We need, on the contrary, to recognize its salutary subversive potential in the discovery of alternative forms of greatness. We will never have that better world they speak of at commencement exercises until we realize that the world we have need not be what it is. To realize this truly may be a painful experience; it is unlikely to be an easy one. Freedom, which is probably what "culture shock" is all about, never is.

Notes

[1] André Malraux, La Condition humaine (Paris: Gallimard, 1946), p. 54. My translation.

[2] Peter Berger and Stanley Pullberg, "Reification and the Sociological Critique of Consciousness," History and Theory 4 (1964), pp. 201-02.

[3]See Herbert De Ley, "Organized Programs of Study in France: Some Contributions of Stranger Theory," The French Review 48 (1975), pp. 836-47.

[4]Berger and Pullberg, p. 209.

[5]De Ley, p. 846.

[6]Ibid., p. 842.

[7]William J. Berg, et al, "The Year Abroad in France: An Inside Look," The French Review 48 (1975), p. 829.

CULTURAL CONTRASTS

Lloyd K. Hulse
Lewis and Clark College

At the outset I must clarify that this paper is based largely on empirical observations, rather than on library research. For some of the comments in this paper I must thank my wife for providing me with more than sixteen years of bicultural experience and a chance to observe her reactions, as a Salvadorian, to U.S. culture. Others come from my early experience in Latin America and from having taken American college students on study trips to this area and Spain, where I have observed their adjustment to a different culture. In sum, I think it appropriate to take advantage of my personal circumstance as a springboard to making cultural comparisons, rather than to research published works. Consequently, references to books such as Octavio Paz's The Labyrinth of Solitude will be minimal.

Rather than delve into as deep a cultural analysis as the one just mentioned, I will cite our first year Spanish text, Communicating in Spanish. I would like to react to one of my student's comments regarding my beginning Spanish course last fall. The student complained that the text did not have any cultural material or information, perhaps because it did not offer us stories of Juanito and his "burrito" or contain photographs of colonial churches, the bullfight, the pyramids, maguey plants, or Iguazú falls. However, it does have illustrations showing real Latin Americans in their environment. For example, one is of several university students seated chatting in front of the bare walls of a café or "student union" much less luxurious than ours (Frontispiece, also p. 330). Among other things the scene illustrates the much greater value placed on personal attire than on the locale. Another picture shows a grocery clerk, or perhaps the owner, who is pasting up a crudely handprinted price list which reveals an inflated currency, besides different kinds of ones and sevens. The caption explains why the seven is crossed (p. 67). Another is an urban scene of people walking down and across the middle of what must be a street closed off to traffic during certain hours (p. 106). Besides evidencing U.S. economic penetration through the neon signs, the people's dress reveals generational distinctions. The street strikes me as being "El jirón de la unión" in Lima, Perú. It could also be some street in Mexico City, Guatemala City, or San José, Costa Rica, although judging from the names of the signs, I doubt that it is either of the last two. Nevertheless, this illustrates the similarity of Latin American populations, disregarding of course distinctive features which are not apparent in the photo in question. In fact, the clothing and hair style of people in several photos remind us of urban populations in the U.S. and Europe. One university student's leisure suit looks just like those worn by so many young people here. It would almost seem that the cultural distance between university students in the U.S. and in Latin America is less in some respects than, for example, my distance from either of them. Urban youth in Latin America shares a common ground in dress and popular music with their counterparts in the U.S. and Europe, yet it should be added that Latin American students, although they may imitate U.S. clothing and hair styles, place great importance on neatness, and you wouldn't ever find a barefooted student, or one wearing faded, cut-off jeans.

I am afraid that pursuing this point further would lead into a commentary on cultural phenomena beyond the scope of this paper, the first part of which will be limited to considering only a few of the cultural implications of our supposedly non-cultural text, Communicating in Spanish. This book, in fact notes cultural features which should receive more attention than they have in most textbooks. I am referring to such seemingly unimportant things as gestures, how close people stand to each other while conversing, or even to whether men wear a moustache or not.

The gestures illustrated in the first part of the book are typical of most areas of Latin America. In addition, the models in the illustrations remind one of the mestizo population of many Spanish speaking countries. Incidentally, there is one caption in the high school edition of Communicating in Spanish, called Spanish for Communication, which was undoubtedly written during the U.S.'s post "crew-cut" days, but while the "clean cut" look still prevailed: it states that the hero of the Mexican movies always wore a moustache, whereas the villain did not (p. 485). U.S. movies of yesteryear did just the opposite. Who could imagine the malignant Vincent Price with a clean shaven upper lip, or Rock Hudson with a moustache? On the other hand, in Mexican movies good "charros" had a moustache: Jorge Negrete, Pedro Infante, or Pedro Armendariz, while their antagonist was many times the evil, clean shaven Carlos Lopez Moctezuma. Now the situation seems to be reversed: clean shaven Julio Iglesias and even Rafael wow them in Mexico, while here our six million dollar bionic hero has suddenly sprouted a moustache, undoubtedly to be followed by McMillan next season. One can object that my examples are dated and that if I look closely there are exceptions. Of course! They are stereotypes of a certain period.

The gestures indicated in our text are an important cultural tool. In the Latin view (although it may not be consciously or analytically expressed), their use will make the "gringo" appear more expressive--less a "papa sin sal," a term I have heard used many times--less stiff, quicker, friendlier, and even more intelligent. The hand genstures for "ven" and "adios," almost opposite ours, might actually be misinterpreted. With the Latin's more flexible concept of punctuality, it is convenient to know the gesture accompanying "un momentito" or "espérame." Also, it is comforting to know that the "momentito" can be extended considerably, just as the "ya" of "ya voy" does not always mean "now" or "already," as vocabulary lists would have us believe. The same sign may indicate the thickness of an object; however, it is advisable to know that the physical dimension so indicated is not to be taken as the distance

between the skin of the forefinger and thumb, but rather the distance between thumb-nail and fingernail. Regarding another gesture, it is important for the "gringa" of study programs to Latin America to perhaps accompany the verbal "no" by the raised and swinging forefinger. A student in such a program might want to compliment the wife of the host family's delicious meal with a "perfecto." Incidentally, here is another cultural note. In Latin America, an offer to be taken seriously must be made several times; likewise, a refusal must be repeated more than once to be heeded. Not grasping fully this concept may have contributed to the fact that almost all of the girls in a Lewis and Clark College study program I conducted in Perú came back some ten pounds heavier. I recall a gesture of polite refusal from my student days in Mexico. When one wanted to say, "no, thank you," the message was both verbal and kinetic. At the same time the mouth said, "gracias," the raised hand (with the palm toward the speaker) said, "no."

Our first year text also refers to other gestures such as "codo," understood in Mexico. It is efficient to teach in one easy gesture the name for a part of the body and the Mexican slang word for stingy, also that within the Mexican context there exists this stereotype of the Regiomontano. Not all of these gestures may be essential, but it is somehow satisfying to be able to refer to money by rubbing your fingers together. In a fix, fingers pointed at an open mouth might take the place of "quiero comer."

Our book does not mention many vulgar or obscene gestures such as the one that the famous Mexican bullfighter used one afternoon to show his disgruntlement with the booing crowd. Nor does it show the gesture to accompany "flojo" or "haragán," which I suppose some uninhibited professor could use to teach part of the male anatomy, insights about "machismo," and that in Spanish "he has guts" is translated in a slightly different way.

Perhaps others of you who are anglo Americans have had the experience of making a gesture which is innocent here but lewd elsewhere. In Central America at least do not play "I've got your nose" with some child by placing your thumb between your forefinger and the next. This happened to me in the skies over Guatemala, but my wife caught me and explained before the child's mother saw a gesture which would have been very offensive to her. I had lived for close to five years in Mexico, but had not ever come across this one.

If you have ever driven through Mexico and gotten lost in the unmarked streets of a "poblado" or even some of the cities, and have asked for directions, you may have noted how your informant's hand gestures differ radically from those of someone pointing out how to locate some point in a U.S. city. In Mexico, the confident swing of the arm, hand, and fingers, which you see as you hear "y de ahí sigue la carretera derecho, derecho," does not indicate any cardinal direction which you can use to get back on the highway. It is simply an enthusiastic gesture which shows that you must have comprehended his verbal instructions perfectly, and that now you should know as much about getting out of his town as he does. Here, the direction indicated by your informant's carefully pointed finger actually shows the direction to the street you should take. An American of U.S. origin expects this and is upset when he discovers that the swinging arm only points out the way in the speaker's imagination.

I want to finish the part of this paper that has to do with gestures by mentioning that in El Salvador, at least, there are three ways to indicate height compared to our one. I have asked a colleague of mine who is from Spain, and his answer was also only one gesture. Consequently, the ones used fairly consistently in El Salvador may have an indigenous origin. The height of an object (or sometimes an animal) is indicated by an outstretched hand with the palm down. The height of a large animal (as a separate gesture) is shown by turning the hand as if to give a karate chop, and the height of a person is shown with an outstretched hand, palm out, fingers up. Consequently, if you use our gesture for a person you will be committing a faux-pas, if the person with whom you are talking is not familiar with your culture.

Another cultural aspect which our Communicating in Spanish brings up (not to mention proverbs, which are very revealing as a means of comparing one culture with another) is the distance people stand to each other while conversing (p. 146). I myself have become accustomed to standing much closer to people than is normal here, and find myself stepping closer, only to have people back away from me to reestablish the distance they feel is right. The impression that a Latin must have (also people from cultures which are similar in this respect) is that the anglo American is cold and aloof. Yet U.S. Society (excluding certain ethnic minorities), whose distance for conversational purposes extends beyond arms' length, which is not a touching society, which feels embarrassed about men walking arm in arm and about an older son kissing his father, or women kissing each other on the cheek (really in the air with their cheeks together), which thinks it odd for women to shake a man's hand when introduced, which feels that it is unnecessary for people to touch when greeting or taking leave of each other, this same society's urban centers abound in organized touching in "encounter groups" and in massage parlors, and one hears persistent calls to further the rights of homosexuals, who are engaged in what, for most, is embarassing and illicit touching. In the sexual sphere the "gringa"'s casual friendliness makes the Latin male think she is easy prey. She will encourage the man who has just let fly a "piropo," by acknowledging his presence. Her Latin cousin ignores him completely, yet the latter will be very flirtatious within the security of the party or the group. And Latin girls are disconcerted by the non-agressive male. Two attractive young "latinas" at a swimming pool one afternoon, simply could not comprehend why the "anglo" boys scarcely turned their heads to look at them.

It may be a truism to state that many deep-seated cultural values of the Latin American can be discovered by analyzing their culture shocks, the only danger being to separate what may be an individual reaction from one that is more general and predictable. Also, in some instances one must bear in mind the social strata from which the reactor comes.

Latins are disturbed by what seems to them our excessive planning, from planning to have "fun" by playing games at a party, to lack of spontaneity in simply dropping in on friends unannounced. On the other hand, several U.S. college students whom I have had in study programs in Latin America have told me that their most difficult adjustment to their Latin family was its tendency to wait until the last minute to decide activities or its suddenly dropping suggested plans, which the U.S. student has taken too seriously.

Latins set great store by verbal quickness and effusiveness. I remember a Guatemalan friend of mine who always came up with a quick answer. It is important for all, from university students to the lower class, whose "chanceo," as I recall, would be the main source of entertainment in the "sol" section at the bull ring. By contrast, the "gringo" seems slow, laconic, and cold.

Girls must be feminine. At around the coming-out party age, the daughter may hear her mother say to her: "No dé la mano como hombre." Without any regard for relative cultural values, the feminine-like handshake is to hold the hand out as if the man were going to kiss it.

The eyes of many anglos must lack sufficient vivacity or expression. Some years ago a vivacious Spaniard became furious at what he must have felt was a dull look in his Portland students' eyes and shouted that they seemed "pedazos de carne con ojos."

How the Latin views the anglo American's devotion to having "fun," his apparent lack of dignity as an adult, his excessive concern about sex as a science, his cult of staying young, his fixed smile, his naiveté or "inocencia"--all these could be the subject of another paper. These views have been expressed to me as one Latin American's culture shock while living in the U.S. and if we can generalize, they express the Latin's distinct or opposing cultural values.

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THE LABYRINTH OF SOLITUDE--REVISITED

Daniel Rangel-Guerrero
Western Washington State College

"The Mexican . . . seems to me to be a person who shuts himself away to protect himself: his face is a mask and so is his smile. In his harsh solitude, which is both barbed and courteous, everything serves him as a defence: silence and words, politeness and disdain, irony and resignation . . . he builds a wall of indifference and remoteness between reality and himself, a wall that is no loss impenetrable for being invisible. The Mexican is always remote, from the world and from other people. And also from himself."[1]

Thus spoke Octavio Paz in 1959 when his book The Labyrinth of Solitude was first published. His dramatic and at times poetic statements brought into focus a penetrating insight into the Mexican character. It seems appropriate to examine once more Paz's ideas to see if they are true and even applicable now when Mexico has reached a critical crossroad in its historical evolution. Are these ideas unique to Paz or are there other Mexican thinkers who also share them? The present work will be an effort to summarize the main concepts presented in The Labyrinth of Solitude and to put them into some kind of perspective in relation to other works.

Octavio Paz's ideas were not entirely new when his book was published. In the early Thirties Samuel Ramos, the distinguished professor of Social Philosophy, published his profoundly probing book Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico. In this work Ramos maintained that Mexicans suffer from an acute fear of inferiority, a kind of "self-denigration" which was the result of unfavorable comparisons during the nineteenth century between Mexico and Europe. This sense of inferiority is the central theme of the book and especially of the key chapter, "Psychoanalysis of the Mexican." The purpose of his essay, Ramos insisted, was "to establish a theory which would explain the real character of Mexican Man and his Culture . . ."[2] and to demonstrate that Mexicans need not feel inferior because they are not inferior. What they need is a control of the instruments of their civilization because culture is for self-discovery, it restores humanism to civilization. When Mexicans compared themselves to other peoples a false feeling of inferiority appeared and this resulted in an unconscious, but more often than not deliberate imitation of whatever was foreign. Through this imitation Mexicans tried to hide this imagined inferiority of their own culture. The tendency towards masculine boasting the Mexican adopted was nothing more than a façade to hide or cover up a deep-seated distrust he felt towards himself and others. What is needed, then, Ramos said, is that Mexicans see themselves as they really are, the positive and the negative, and destroy all the false premises that block the way towards a more positive individual and collective self-image.

In The Labyrinth of Solitude Paz re-iterates some of the ideas expressed by Ramos but appears hesitant to share in his underlying optimism. Paz's contribution consists in his ability to create generalizations that help us to better understand the Mexican Character. The Mexican, he says, is lost in a veritable "labyrinth of solitude" unable to communicate with others, and most importantly, without a way to know his true self, his real identity.

As we have seen above, for Paz Mexicans are always hiding behind a set of defense mechanisms or a "mask." This in itself, of course, is natural and appears in all cultures. But the Mexican has come to believe that the mask he wears is his true self rather than a device behind which that self hides. In order to face reality and other people, a human being fabricates, somehow, a mask which is different from one individual to the next, as well as between different countries. That is to say, not all individual Mexicans are alike in all respects; however, all Mexicans partake of some characteristics which Paz calls "the Mexican mask." To illustrate the peculiarities of this Mexican mask the author explains the historical, physical, and moral conditions which contributed to its formation. Mexicans belong to Western Civilization in some way: they speak Spanish and are Christians. But also Mexico is underdeveloped and is in the marginal group of countries which partake of Western Civilization. There are also Indian cultural ingredients which made Mexicans appear mysterious to the European man of the last century; however, Mexicans are also mysterious to themselves. Paz says: "Our marginal situation makes us dubious, mysterious, for the others and for ourselves. In this sense we can talk about a Mexican Mask."[3]

This mask can better be explained by examining the way the Mexican sees himself and others, by the form and nature of the relationship between males and females, and by the collective behavior manifested in special celebrations or fiestas.

The male considers himself a macho, that is, a being which is hermetically closed into himself, able to guard anything that has been confided to him (p. 31). Life for him is a constant in which the ideal behaviour is never to "crack" or back down, to never open up; his relationships with others are based on suspicion and aggressiveness. The macho, then, is the chingón, the one who violates, rapes, rips open those who reveal, those who are the chingados. "Chingar . . . is to do violence to another. The verb is masculine, active, cruel: it stings, wounds, gashes, stains. And it provoques a bitter, resentful satisfaction. . ." (p. 77).

It is not surprising, says Paz, that the Mexican thinks of love as combat, as a conquest, as a struggle between the macho the closed, strong, chingón, and the female or weak, open chingada. Love does

not serve as a way to use the body and enter into a relationship with another person in the hope of penetrating reality; in a sense, love becomes a violation of reality. For the Mexican, woman is a passive, open being without passions of her own. She is vulnerable, and inferior because of her sex, "which is a wound that never heals" (p. 30). She is an object waiting to be awakened and molded by the sensuality of the macho. She is the chingada, the mother "who has suffered--metamorphically or actually--the corrosive and defaming action implicit in the verb that gives her her name " (p. 75). The chingón, shut up in his aggressive solitude, and the chingada, passive in her openness, negate in their embrace the encounter of two selves in the reality of love.

Historically, the concept of the chingada dates from the times of the Conquest, and is centered in La malinche, the Indian woman who helped Cortés. For the Mexican people La malinche betrayed them when she opened herself up to the Spanish Conquistador. Therefore, when Mexicans shout: "Viva México, hijos de la chingada," (Long live Mexico, sons of the chingada) they deny their mixed ancestry. Mexicans, then, do not want to affirm themselves as a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood or to be descended from them. This shout serves to condemn their origin and at the same time affirm themselves as an abstraction, as sons of nothingness. This shout is heard often during the fiesta, the only time when the Mexican seems to open up.

The Mexican fiesta is a revolt in the sense that it allows society to free itself from the norms that govern life the rest of the year; gods, principles, laws are ridiculed because Mexicans seek not enjoyment, but escape from themselves. "During these days the silent Mexican whistles, shouts, sings, shoots off fireworks, discharges his pistol into the air. He discharges his soul . . . this is the night when friends who have not exchanged more than the prescribed courtesies for months get drunk together, trade confidences, weep over the same troubles, discover that they are brothers, and sometimes, to prove it, kill each other . . ." (p. 49). The violence and frenzy of the fiesta, happiness, quarrels, pistol shots and stabbings, are an effort to leap over the wall of solitude that surrounds them; that is why during the fiesta their souls explode in a rainbow of colors.

When Mexicans open up and exchange confidences they do so with violence, as if to wound themselves. The silent equilibrium they maintain most of the time is nothing more than a mask, as the explosion which occurs during the fiesta indicates. The question we might ask here concerning the collective behaviour of Mexicans during the fiesta is: "Do they really open up and show their true faces? Nobody knows." (p. 49).

The views presented above are the most salient concepts of The Labyrinth of Solitude. The importance of the book lies not only in its intrinsic value as prober of the Mexican character but also in the interest it has provoked since its appearance. Many Mexican thinkers share this preoccupation with the question of authenticity and are serious in their search for that which is truly Mexican; they are in earnest looking for their roots. It is not difficult to find evidence of this in literature and in the social sciences. For example, the distinguished novelist Carlos Fuentes and Mexico's leading psychologist Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero deal with some of the questions raised by Octavio Paz in a few of their most important works. In his novel The Death of Artemio Cruz Fuentes wrote a moving passage that is an exploration of the word-concept chingar. This happens in one of the key chapters of the book in which the main character, Artemio Cruz, must make a crucial decision that will determine the authenticity or the falsehood of his life. This character is the archetype of the Mexican who wears the mask of the chingón. Fuentes urges Artemio Cruz, and through him, the Mexican people, to drop the mask-word that separates them from each other and also from their true identity. Fuentes puts it this way: "You will say it, it is your word and your word is my word . . . resumé of our history, Mexico's saint and countersign, your word and my word . . . And where do you go with the word? Oh, mystery, oh, deception, oh, nostalgia: you think that the word will carry you back to your beginning: but to what beginning? Not yours: no one wants to return to the lie of a Golden Age, to illegitimacy . . . oh, mystery, oh, deception, oh, mirror facing a mirror: do you believe that you can go forward with the word? Forward to what future? Not to yours . . . leave the word behind you, kill it with borrowed arms, destroy it: murder the word that stands between us, makes stone of us, rots us with its poison mixed of idolatry and the cross: so that it cannot be either our reply or our destiny . . . cleanse yourself of the word . . ."[4]

Readers of the novel will discover the false and hollow language of power used by the characters which the author has captured with the authenticity of his art. One critic has said that Carlos Fuentes ". . . has been--as it is appropriate--the spoiler in the perennial banquet of the powerful; he has been able to express, through a combination of form and content, his role as a relentless analyst of Mexico and that which is Mexican. This task he has fulfilled always artistically, without limiting himself to a mere nationalistic uneasiness."[5]

Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero has conducted considerable research in the area of personality and culture which has confirmed that many of the attitudes of the Mexican indeed coincide with Paz's concept of the Mask. In his book Psychology of the Mexican[6] Díaz-Guerrero deals with many topics including the attitudes of Mexicans toward sex and the roles played by members of the family. Díaz-Guerrero summarizes his findings by saying: "This is what I call really the Mexican Culture: it is an affiliative hierarchy; a hierarchy of power. Power and love are somewhat mixed in this hierarchy: the power is invested in the father and through love the mother gets power too. Both of them are authorities to their children; children are supposed to obey their parents and love them . . . ."[7]

It is also very important to notice that Díaz-Guerrero's research shows also that Mexican society is changing rapidly. Traditional statements such as "all children should obey their parents," or "the place of women is in the home" simply do not accurately reflect what is going on in this dynamic society. Women are participating more in activities outside the traditional confines of the home; and many Mexicans are aware that the economic future of their country will be difficult without a fuller participation of more women in the work-force and in the professions. Also, the search for more liberties for the individual has been instrumental in making Mexican Culture less paternalistic, less family oriented; it has allowed a much greater expression of individuality than in the past.

By way of conclusion it must be said that the acceptance of Paz's ideas as presented in The Labyrinth of Solitude has not been unanimous. However, few would deny the importance of the book in the ongoing quest for self knowledge. Perhaps the true contribution of Octavio Paz resides in his having pointed out a mask that needed to be understood in order to be replaced by the true face of the Mexican character.

Notes

[1]Octavio Paz, The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico (New York: Grove, 1961), p. 29. Page references in the text are to this edition.

[2]Samuel Ramos, Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico. Trans. Peter G. Earle (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1961).

[3]Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Ideas on Mexico, sixth in the series (CBS, November, 1976). Octavio Paz was interviewed by a freelance broadcaster who prepared these programs on Mexico.

[4]Carlos Fuentes, The Death of Artemio Cruz. Trans. Sam Hileman (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1964), pp. 137-40.

[5]Juan Loveluck, "Intención y forma en La muerte de Artemio Cruz," Nueva Narrativa Hispanoamericana, 1 (January 1971), p. 116. My translation.

[6]Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero, Psychology of the Mexican: Culture and Personality (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1975).

[7]Díaz-Guerrero made this comment in the CBS radio program mentioned in note 3 above.

SPAIN IN TRANSITION: A BACKGROUND FOR TODAY'S SPANISH MORES AND ATTITUDES

Tomás Oguiza
Southern Oregon State College

Spain is already on her way to achieving a liberalized status which will place her at the level of other Western European nations. It will be a different transition because it is a matter of depth and format and timing. There are lots of political energies bottled up since the Franco era. To channel these energies without allowing the economic growth to dwindle will be the major task facing the new leadership.

I

The old blind man is seated in a wheel chair by the entrance to a downtown movie theater. The heavily contaminated air in Madrid does not seem to bother him. His visible way of life for the past twenty years has been the same; as a blind person he participates in the common sale of the Blind's national Lottery. His voice sounds, lashing the ears of the people passing by: "Fifteen!! All of them for today! Take the lucky numbers!"--good luck--he says to the occasional buyer.

Behind him there is a sticker in red-yellow-red horizontal stripes: one can read Juan Carlos I, Rey. Spain has again assumed the ways and the means of a kingdom. Historians will have to agree on calling this new period the Restoration of 1975. There was another restoration one hundred years ago, in 1874. The Bourbons have been installed in Spain since 1700.

The old blind man's life will not experience much change. His existence will go on as in the past twenty, maybe thirty years. But the people who can see expect a change and they look at the face of the new king; his picture appears in some shop windows. The king's face presents the typical Bourbon's nose and lips. He is 37 years old and has the look of a normally intelligent man, a warm countenance. He has shown already the marksmanship of a cunning politicain, capable of personal and critical decisions. He is a religious man, without fanaticism and has no apparent desire to impose a monarchic system against a majority's will. He sits at ease with his visitors and is sober in his mannerisms. In his own words, he wants to be "the river bed on which the streams of political expressions will flow." He has already made several important decisions.

On one occasion before Franco's death, the Spanish Sahara, with its rich deposits of phosphate was on the brink of falling into the hands of the Moroccans. The king overruled his Cabinet's opinion against his flying to the tiny enclave of El Aiun where the Spanish troops were in a state of near mutiny. He decided on his own to make the trip and he presented himself before the handful of soldiers and officers to declare that the colony would not be given up at any price. This action alone alleviated a difficult and dangerous situation and paved the way to carrying on serious negotiations with Morrocco's King Hassan.

In choosing his own team, he has shown sagacity and firmness. First the outspoken and tough party-liner General Campano was removed from the important position of Captain General of Madrid. Then the President of the Cortes' resignation was accepted by the king, and to replace him he waived an eight hour National Council meeting to come up with his own choice: Fernandez Miranda, tutor, professor, and friend of the king. Two weeks later a new set of ministers were sworn in, among them three of the most competent ministers Spain has ever had: Fraga Iribarne, Minister of the Interior; Areilza, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Garrigues, Minister of Justice. Prime Minister Arias Navarro would remain in his post as a stabilizing presence, only to resign later.

A search for new men will continue later to replace the Civil Governors of the fifty provinces. The mayorships will come up for elections in due time. The king has a remarkable, and obvious, interest in the people. But are the people interested in being governed by a king?

During the crowning ceremony at the Church of San Francisco el Grande, on a sunny day in November, a crowd gathered spontaneously to shout, "Viva el Rey!" There were no extended arms in the fascist salute. There were no syndicate employees or falangists in dark blue shirts. The throng was imposing and the king could hardly contain his emotions. Yet those welcomers represented only a small fraction of a future electorate. The truth is that the monarchy--no matter how frantic the attempts on television to impress the people with the credentials of the Bourbon kings in Spanish history--has no real political foothold so far. Some predict it may only last until elections are organized. The majority of the Spaniards have adopted a courteous and expectant attitude. But the political groups face the dilemma of applying pressures on the king while at the same time it is clear that the king must rely on these groups in order to achieve any kind of political equilibrium. The alternative is for these factions to postpone any action until the king's policies become clear.

El Pardo Palace at dusk has very few lights. There are no glittering guards, no flags raised. Franco is no longer in command. His wife has been made Duchess of Meiras by the new king, but otherwise she has been requested to leave the elegant residence.

In the small church near El Pardo Palace where the Renaissance sculptor Gregorio Fernandez's Christ is kept, a middle-aged couple are praying. She has her arms extended and holds a rosary in her right hand. "It takes a miracle," she whispers while leaving. She looks healthy and economically well-off. Was she praying for her country? It might be a matter of luck; it might take a miracle for all to go will for Spain.

II

The brief news came on page 12, column 3, down, in Madrid's Pueblo daily newspaper: "Subversive hen" it read. Someone had plucked the feathers of a hen and stuck to its body several strips of paper with subversive notations and criticisms against the present regime. It was running loose through the streets of a small northern town. The police had picked the hen up and were looking for the authors of the cruel joke.

The people who perpetrated the hen plucking did so in order to use it as a vehicle to express their political beliefs: they were simultaneously hopeful of being noticed and fearful of the consequences of their action. Franco's death has left Spaniards in this ambiguous mood. Thirty-six years of rule under Franco's regime could not produce nor establish flexible and credible ways to ease the inevitable event of a political transition.

The old ruler, a self-proclaimed Regent reinstating a hurriedly legitimized monarchy, had stated that "the knots were already tied, and well tightened," assuming that his death would not bring any unseen possibilities of change. But the events began to undo the knots, one by one, as if challenging his will. First, his alter ego, Vice President Carrero Blanco was killed in an explosion in December of 1973. With him the assurance that Franco's tight rule would continue disappeared outright. Secondly, Arias Navarro, the new Vice President, found it convenient to raise the question of future democratic possibilities as the realities of the new situation made themselves more and more clear. Arias Navarro's speech represents what is called "the flag of February," a symbol that at last a truly liberal trend could take place within a few months. Third, the open challenge of the Basque separatists and certain pro-communist groups initiated a campaign of terror against the police force. When the executions of five men convicted of having killed several policemen were carried out, there were strong protests in several European nations and other parts of the world. The European Common Market decided at that point to halt negotiations admitting Spain as one of its partners. Finally, Franco became ill and the already weak knot of his life was undone. The efforts he had made to tighten the grip of his authoritarianism dissolved. His followers were soon to be labeled "inmovilsts" or "the bunker" and many of them started to adopt more liberal positions to attract the attention of the Spaniards, re-born to political participation after thirty-six years of forced political indifference.

After Juan Carlos of Bourbon was sworn in on November 28, hopes became a hobby for the Spanish people of all walks of life. There were hopes based on Arias Navarro's words promising an Estatuto to allow political associations—not to be called parties yet--to be formed under certain conditions. There were also hopes that the elections—already postponed twice--would be organized soon under revised electoral laws and that Spain's European partnership in the Common Market Organization would be a reality, thus ending Spain's long status as an outcast.

But there were also fears of an exacerbating drive by the Basque nationalists to achieve separation from the centralized government, followed by the Catalonians' same move. Also the illegal labor unions, known to have a firm grip on the working force, could, if they wished, impair the industrial output of the nation--ranked as the ninth in steel production in 1975--and use it as a tool to force recognition of their political aims. But most of all there were fears that if the liberal trend continued the hard core conservatives would find the policies of political tolerance and openness as excuse to force a new form of dictatorial coalition with the military, citing the danger of a Socialist-Communist takeover--as had happened in neighboring Portugal.

The realities of political readjustments may come to Spain in the way hoped for or in the way many fear. To a foreign onlooker the positions of the different factions at stake would not seem impossible to coordinate. After all, this is what has been achieved with some risks in the other western European nations. Yet, the enormous emotional output the Spaniards—and especially their leaders--are accustomed to generating creates difficulties in achieving the series of compromises necessary to resolve the situation. A common ground, however, could unite the parties involved: they have so much to lose that some "cool" might prevail in negotiating their differences: Spain has one of the highest per capita incomes in Europe. If the people are left to decide, mere common sense will not make the choice difficult.

III

As the history of contemporary Spain continues to run its course some dark clouds are accumulating over the Spanish people. Speculation of the future of this nation does not hinge upon a single issue. There are too many issues, kept locked up for too long, and handled too inefficiently.

Logically, a country which shows such tremendous economic growth could very well afford to re-educate itself toward some degree of political expertise leading to the negotiating abilities that characterize democratic systems, if for no other reason than not to risk the loss of the achievements of the last decade. The newcomer king could be granted a probationary period while political interests are channeled and organized. An amnesty for political prisoners could be arranged. The political pulse of the Spaniards would then slowly be restored to normalcy. Logically, these developments could take place. But rarely have there been logical developments in Spanish history since the end of the seventeenth century. From that time on there have been a succession of tragic chapters representing a descent into the abyss of political ineptitude. It almost seems as if fate hangs over the political ability of Spain, denying a much needed political equilibrium. Can this trait be considered a symptom of chronic illness? Can Spain be viewed as a perennial problem for the Spaniards? There have been several intellectuals who have come to this conclusion, among them Pedro Lain Entralgo, once President of the University of Madrid.

Today, attitudes of the Spaniards toward political change can be reduced to four general options, all of them facing the current stated aims of the government: first, the attitude of those who give a sound affirmation to present leadership plans. This means acceptance of the political premises of the Movimiento as a prime source of political inspiration--its validity justified by 36 years of uncomplicated management and the positive economic results evident, at the cost of political mutilation. Second, the attitude of those who concede to the same plans but with reservations. This would mean temporary acceptance of the terms proposed by the present government up to the time a new Constitution is drawn. Third, the negative attitude, with some openings for compromise, which indicates an emphasis on unionism and a free referendum to let people decide what form of government ought to represent them. This solution might upset the military conservatives thereby increasing the possibility of a military coup. Fourth, the attitude of absolute rejection of the policies of "aperturismo" and slow transition to a more democratic political setting. Such an attitude would automatically set off fear in the upper classes, who see total socialization of the nation as a real probability. The plausible reality of a military junta could not, under these circumstances, be ruled out.

One can look closely at what is happening on the side of the "opposition" and then pay attention to what is developing on the governing side. In both fields there are disquieting attitudes developing, while the stock market has taken a drop to a low 83 level. The opposition has achieved a temporary cohesion: Socialists, Liberals, and Communists have agreed to present a united challenge to the present regime at its weakest point, that of its legitimacy. The last known Spanish government prior to Franco's takeover, was a Republican government. Why should there now be a king? They are pressing hard for directly consulting the poeple on whether they want a monarchy. To further their cause they have forged an understanding with the Liberals, and they count on a strong backing from the labor forces. Demonstrations and strikes can readily be organized, forcing the government to take stern action which in turn will handicap the aim of presenting a liberal front to the European Common Market nations.

On the other side, there is a developing re-consideration of the rightist outlook invoking again the ideals of 18 July 1936, the date of Franco's uprising. This group, formed by old guard falangists and new rightist radicals, is still a minority. But as the time passes--and time is now a very important element in Spanish politics--a crisis might develop. No one can predict what tensions may be caused by extremist pressures to the middle man who sees his relative well-to-do status threatened.

The key to this crucible might be the young and middle-aged Spaniards. This slice of the population forms the largest block, and its outlook is not the same as in 1936. Today's middle-aged and young Spaniards have better education and training, more vitality, are more refined and better fed than were their elders. These characteristics give to this social sector an important voice in future compromises.

As Franco's body rests under the huge basilica of el Valle de los Caidos, cloudy formations appear on the Spanish horizon. There are means and men among the Spaniards which could assure a normal transition from a state of political suffocation to a state of political expression. But the fears of opposing factions might become more powerful than their hopes, in the determination of their mutual responses and actions. For the time being, the government cannot do much more than make promises, while the opposition is allowed to talk and demonstrate. The winners of 1936 will not find it easy to accept defeat after tasting success and the glory of their long victory. The losers of 1936 will find it hard to soften, much less to let this occasion pass after long years of frustration and suffering. Both contenders, under different disguises, are still visible, making the changes of this transitional period so slim that at any time in the future--unless common sense prevails--a chaotic conflict may occur. The real victim would be, once more as in 1936, the dignity of the people of Spain.

EL ROMANCE DE CIEGOS, ULTIMO VESTIGIO DEL MESTER DE JUGLARIA

José A. Alonso
Eastern Washington State College

Hace no muchos años, cuando Madrid era todavía Madrid, se veía de vez en cuando, y con menos frecuencia al correr el tiempo, la figura desarrapada del ciego cantor de romances. Los sitios favoritos para su industria eran el Rastro en la mañana de los domingos y la explanada delante de la Plaza de Toros los días de corrida.

El Madrid de los años 40 y 50 conservaba algunas de las características de lo popular que lo individualizaban y distinguían de otras ciudades españolas. El ritmo tranquilo de la vida cotidiana permitía a muchos de sus habitantes practicar ocupaciones que les diferenciaban entre sí y entregarse a diversiones más o menos castizas. Eran los años de las dificultades económicas, años tan bien retratados por Cela en La colmena. Entonces sí que "el hábito hacía al monje," y los vestidos que usaban, los lugares de recreo a donde asistían, la manera de hablar revelaban el estado social y el lugar de residencia en los distintos barrios de Madrid. El ingenio, característica tan consustancial al español, era un arma o utensilio decisivo en el arte de sobrevivir; y una picaresca benévola populaba la ciudad. El ciego y su lazarillo formaban parte de esta picaresca, substrato social, que tenía que aguzar el caletre, como decían los castizos, para conseguir la subsistencia.

Aún recuerdo el barullo del Rastro dominguero, concurrido por toda clase de personas—desde el hortera endomingado que presumía de elegante hasta el aristócrata que buscaba en el reencuentro con lo castizo la raiz de su abolengo. En este barullo, dominando con voz chillona y aguardentosa los reclamos publicitarios de sus competidores, se destacaba la figura del ciego cantor de romances. El ciego era un anciano mal vestido, con gafas de sol en cualquier época del año para ocultar sus pupilas carcomidas, barba sucia y descuidada, que con incansable paciencia y cantar monótono relataba el crimen "más salvaje," el suceso "más increíble," el episodio más comentado de la vida de la actualidad española. Junto a él, el lazarillo. El lazarillo de turno solía ser un muchacho desnutrido, vestido de harapos, con ojos agudos y perspicaces, de cara demacrada, que con desgana e indolencia iba señalando con un puntero las estampillas, burda y grotescamente dibujadas en un cartel, que permitían seguir las incidencias del relato.

Esta estampa barojiana ha ido perdiendo actualidad con el paso del tiempo, con la estabilidad económica y la prisa de una sociedad cad vez más enajenada. El ciego cantor no ha podido sobrevivir la competencia despiada de la televisión y los programas del "Lone Ranger."

En los últimos diez años la modalidad oral de los cantares de ciego se ha transmutado en una variedad menos castiza pero más en consonancia con los tiempos actuales. Ha adquirido la legitimidad que proporciona la imprenta y ha renacido en papel impreso. El juglar anónimo que inventaba o popularizaba los sucesos se ha personalizado en un autor que, manteniendo los principios habituales del género, escribe y publica romances análogos. Me refiero al escritor y periodista Luis Carandell.

Carandell ha sabido coordinar dos de las tendencias más del agrado del pueblo: el romance de ciego y las aleluyas políticas. Las coplas de carácter político fueron muy populares en los primeros decenios de este siglo y generalmente eran una sátira, más divertida que mordaz, de la actuación del gobierno. El sucedáneo más aproximado de este género periodístico fueron los chistes que el semanario "La Codorniz" publicaba, desafiando las multas y los arrestos de sus redactores, perseguidos por los llamados "delitos de prensa."

Luis Carandell ha logrado convertirse en un autor popular y sus colaboraciones en la revista "Triunfo" y el periódico "Informaciones" han sido seguidas con interés por un gran número de lectores. Entre las publicaciones de Carandell se cuentan títulos como Vivir en Madrid, Los españoles, y Celtiberia Show, siendo esta última obra la que le proporcionó más fama.

El libro que inspiró este trabajo fue publicado en 1973 con el título de Los romances de Carandell. El mismo autor explica en el Prólogo de la obra los motivos que le impulsaron a escribirla, diciendo: "Lo que yo he intentado ha sido hacer crónica de la actualidad en el estilo de los romances de ciego. Los versificadores populares se sirvieron de este género en toda España, no sólo en Castilla y Andalucía sino también en mi nativa Cataluña, para relatar a sus contemporáneos los sucesos más señalados de su tiempo. He procurado que mis crónicas no perdieran en ningún momento ese sabor de liberatura de 'pliego de cordel,' tan rica en la tradición española" (p. 9).

Con un estilo ágil, directo y popular, en verso romance, Carandell relata los acontecimientos más destacados de la vida española. Algunos de los romances llevan títulos como "Romance del 'party' de las elecciones" (sobre la elección del presidente Nixon), "Romance del rabo" (sobre la actuación de Paloma Linares), "Romancillo de Joahn Cruyff" (famoso jugador del Club de fútbol Barcelona), y el romance de "El Lute," que escucharemos más adelante.

"El Lute," apodo de Eleuterio Sánchez, fue un criminal que cometió diversos delitos, y que por su astucia y sagacidad, consiguió eludir a la justicia repetidamente. Detenido finalmente, en el camino al penal, logró escapar de los policías que allí le conducían, empezando una fuga que duró varios meses.

imaginación de la gente le convirtió en un héroe popular, y sus andanzas fueron motivo de conversación por mucho tiempo. Este romance narra la vida de Eleuterio, siguiendo un orden cronológico y un criterio realista.

En el poema de "El Lute," Carandell ha reproducido las fórmulas tradicionales que caracterizaban este tipo de composición. El tema es de un héroe, o anti-héroe, que por sus acciones atrae el interés de la gente, que hasta cierto punto se identifica con sus desventuras y siente admiración por su coraje. La narración se hace en tercera persona y el narrador muestra cierta predilección por la vida y hechos del personaje, que es presentado al público con simpatía.

El poema está escrito en forma de romance, con versos octosilábicos y rima asonante en los versos pares. El verso no llega a distinguirse por su elegancia; pero la rima es adecuada, y como los clérigos del siglo XIII y XIV, este juglar moderno versifica "a sillavas cuntadas, ca es grant maestria." En los versos se destaca el estilo popular y directo, que inclusive recoge algunos estribillos que eran comunes en épocas pasadas. Comienza diciendo: "Al noble senado pido -en ocasión señalada—que quiera escuchar ahora--lo que mi lengua declara" (p. 83).

El lenguaje es sencillo, dirigido al pueblo, con la intención de ser entendido de todos. Abundan palabras y expresiones coloquiales, como "quinqui," "quinador," "echar el guante." El pueblo interviene en la narración, y participa de forma directa en el desarrollo de la acción. Se explota los sentimientos ingénuos de los oyentes, presentándoles el mejor lado de la personalidad del criminal, sus relaciones afectivas con sus amigos, y el amor que siente por sus hijos.

Al llegar al final del romance otra vez se escuchan los ecos de los siglos pasados, y de manera ortodoza el autor-narrador se despide de los oyentes con las disculpas de rigor: "Y aquí termina el romance--aquí la historia se acaba--al despedirme de ustedes--pido perdón por mis faltas."

Resumiendo lo dicho anteriormente, el nuevo juglar, de manera intencionada, ha vertido su creación en el molde típico de los romances tradicionales: versificación de romance; forma narrativa; lenguaje directo, sencillo y popular.

Pero basta ya. Como dice el jugler ". . . ¡Pido atención al discreto senado! El romance empieza. . . ."

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CURANDERISMO: A POINT OF DEPARTURE

Earl L. Rees
Portland State University

Ari Kiev has written that "The complex of beliefs associated with curanderismo is one of the main traditions persisting among Mexican-Americans."[1] The continued practice of curanderismo, folk medicine, which has received considerable attention since the early 1960's, seems to be an anachronism in an age characterized by secularized, scientific approaches to medicine. After a statement concerning the Anglo-American view of the subject in question, and a brief examination of some of the so-called folk illnesses, I will summarize the main reasons used to explain why curanderismo persists to this day.[2] This will not be done, as is often the case, from a medical point of view or in light of the therapeutic value of prescientific psychiatric theories.[3] Concentrating on lower-class Mexicans of the American Southwest, folk healing will be presented as one fascinating aspect of Mexican-American culture which could be used as an innovative pedagogical means through which to pinpoint and explain some of the basic differences between Anglo and Mexican-American cultures.

The Anglo attitude toward curanderismo is succinctly summed up by the definition of the word found in most Spanish-English, English-Spanish dictionaries: Curanderismo, quackery, quack medicine. In the works consulted for this paper, the curandero[4] is referred to as a folk practioner, healer, spiritualist healer, curer, and not as a quack. A quack, for many Mexican-Americans, is a carancho.[5] In other words, folk healing is a serious, substantive aspect of Mexican-American culture.

Mexican-Americans do go to physicians. The curandero will even advise this course of action if the illness is beyond the scope of his practice. In general, the curandero treats minor ailments, many of the so-called folk illnesses, psychological and emotional difficulties. Some of the most common folk illnesses are mollera caída, empacho, mal de ojo, susto, and embrujada. To treat mollera caída, "fallen fontanel," the healer will put oil on his finger and push up the palate while pulling soapy hair. The child is also held by the heels and tapped on the heels three times. Empacho, a form of indigestion, is treated by rubbing the patient with an egg at room temperature. Where the egg breaks, the empacho is found. Then the back and stomach of the patient may be rubbed with oil. Mal de ojo, "evil eye," may be treated by involving the person with the strong glance. "He or she is contacted and asked to rupture the bond so that the intrusive power of the agent is eliminated from the other."[6] Susto, "fright," often leads to dizzy spells and loss of appetite. One possible treatment involves rubbing the patient with herb rue, a knife, or an egg. A good time to do this is at midday. Embrujada, "bewitchment," seems to be the most dreaded of all folk illnesses. Madsen notes that "despite general condemnation of the practice of witchcraft, conservative Latins of the lower classes maintain a nearly universal belief in the prevalence of witchcraft."[7] The best treatment for embrujada is to identify the witch and have him remove the hex.

In this cursory look at folk illnesses and cures, we have seen a very small portion of the total number. Nevertheless, it does indicate that there is a somewhat systematic classification of illnesses among curanderos. With this in mind, we will now summarize the varied reasons for continued practice of curanderismo. In this way, some of the basic differences between Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans will be indicated.

One important factor is tradition. Curanderismo has been practiced for centuries. The curandero's ideas concerning emotional illness "derive in part from the Spanish-Catholic tradition and in part from the Indian heritage bequeathed to Mexico by the Aztecs, Mayans, and other Indian groups . . . ."[8] The Spanish-Catholic tradition is traceable to Greek and Arabic sources. In the New World, the perpetuation of curanderismo was greatly facilitated by some important similarities between the religion of the Aztecs and Spaniards. Both groups recognized a God who was lord of the universe and the source of all life. The Aztecs had a notion similar to that of heaven and hell. Confession was practiced by both groups. The consideration of tradition is basic in that "it is the exceedingly rare Mexican-American, no matter how acculturated he may be to the dominant society, who does not in some degree retain the more subtle characteristics of his Mexican heritage. . . ."[9]

Religion is a very important aspect of curanderismo. This is evident in the two major classifications of illnesses. There are "the so-called 'good' or 'natural' illnesses which come from violating the balance of the natural world controlled by God . . . and . . . bewitchments sent by utilizing evil Satinic forces."[10] During the illness, the curandero must, above all, help the patient "accept this suffering as his share of the burden of the world's sin and ignorance and as his part in God's world."[11] This has been referred to as a "subjugation-to-nature" orientation, common in Spanish-America, which is in contrast to the "mastery-over-nature" orientation of the Anglo society.[12]

Because the curandero takes his strength from saints and God, he has great confidence and does not doubt his diagnosis or treatment. The typical Anglo physician is a man of science who, from the point of view of many Mexican-Americans, undermines his own diagnosis by ordering lab tests, X-rays, and adopting a wait-and-see attitude.[13]

Curanderismo continues to be a viable factor to this day because the social-cultural milieu of the Mexican-American is very much the same as it was in Mexico. Horizontal geographical movement has not been followed by vertical economic and social changes. The Mexican-American, in general, does not participate in the Anglo society which surrounds him. The Mexican-American has not been accepted because he is "different." These differences, unfortunately, are considered by many as evidence of inferiority. The language difference is one case in point. There is a reluctance among some Mexican-American youth to speak Spanish even though they understand it and it is used as the primary language in the home. Speaking Spanish is associated with being a second-class citizen.

Some Mexican-Americans do participate fully in Anglo society. But, for many of the inglesados, those attempting cultural transfer, acculturation is a very painful process which is not carried out to any meaningful degree. Octavio Paz, in El laberinto de la soledad, describes the pachuco as living in a state of limbo. "El 'pachuco' no quiere volver a su origin mexicano; tamposo-al menos en apariencia-desea fundirse a la vida norteamericana."[14] This is the predicament in which the partly acculturated inglesado finds himself. To alleviate psychological and emotional stress, the inglesado will consult a curandero. This is done for two reasons. First, because Anglos are not afflicted by folk ailments, merely having one is a type of cultural identification with the Mexican-American community. Second, accepting the diagnosis and cooperating in the treatment "constitute overt proof that at heart they are still members of La Raza. . . ."[15] From another point of view, treatment by a curandero re-establishes the fact that the inglesado accepts a conservative Mexican-American world view. This world view is the basis for almost all that has been said here. The agrarian background, lack of education, and the language barrier are the key factors impeding acculturation into the materialistic, competitive Anglo society which emphasizes "education, industrial training, and egalitarianism."[16]

A key reason for the continued practice of curanderismo is that the healer considers illness in a social as well as biological context. In general, Anglo-Americans view illness as something brought on by agents, such as germs, which are beyond our control. In many cases, a sick person is isolated, not only from the general public, but even from members of his own family. This happens even when the disease is not contagious. Also, there is very little contact with the doctor who is too busy "caring" for his patients. In contrast, "a very close and affective relationship is maintained between the curer, the patient, and the patient's family."[17] The family is usually very much involved in an illness, not only because of concern for the patient, but also because the illness suggests that something is wrong with the entire family. The family is the most important social unit for the Latin who, unlike many Anglos, accepts a "relational" orientation.[18] This simply means that he relies on other members of his family for guidance and support. The Anglo family has increasingly become a scattered group of individuals with a common surname but no primary loyalty.

Another "social" aspect of curanderismo is that most of the elements involved in treatment are understood by, and in common possession of, the group involved in the illness. Medicine, as practiced by Anglos, is highly scientific and not generally comprehensible even when exact, detailed descriptions of the processes are available. It has also become highly mechanized. Folk medicine "is usually well integrated with other elements of a folk culture and is reinforced by them."[19] A scientific physician would not consider the sprinkling of a photograph of the patient's deceased uncle with wet herbs as part of the cure for his patient's high fever and chills.

Finally, curanderismo continues to be practiced because it works. But, here, a distinction must be made. In terms of common ailments, Madsen reports an increasing reliance on physicians stating that such illnesses as mal ojo and susto are now being thought of in terms of influenza or colic. Still, as Madsen goes on to say, when there is doubt both a physician and a curandero are consulted.[20] Kiev reports that the curandero "continues to be preferred over modern experts as a source of psychological help for many Mexican-Americans."[21] This is because the curandero understands the underlying value conflicts and social stresses involved.

At the present time, one can even receive a certificate to practice healing by taking correspondence courses from centers which are mostly found in Mexico City. Sometimes, the fees charged by those formally trained in their profession are higher than fees charged by a physician. Ironically, many curanderos are manifesting acculturation in their practice. Prescriptions for herb medicines are being given. Some curers recommend vitamins and have added hypodermic injections and other antibiotics to their repertoire of "folk cures."

It is mostly the lower-class Mexican-Americans who have a strong faith in folk healing. Nevertheless, middle and upper-class Latins sometimes rely on the curandero. As one prosperous Mexican-American lawyer put it: "Of course, it's all nonsense but curious things do happen."[22] The practices of the curandero are considered mere superstitions by most Anglos. Nevertheless, the same "sophisticated" Anglo who scoffs at faith healing still knocks on wood to avoid having something happen and skips thirteen when numbering floors in a building or rooms in a hotel. In other words, we, too, are "different."

There are deep-rooted differences between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans. In the classroom, as elsewhere, we should consider these differences, such as the reliance on curanderos, not as idiosyncratic curiosities, but rather as an integral part of the culture of our Mexican-American neighbors who have contributed so much to the cultural pluralism which makes the United States such a fascinating place to live. This very brief overview of curanderismo is also a reminder that "if the full acceptance of Mexicans by Anglo-Americans is contingent upon the disappearance of cultural differences, it will not be accorded in the foreseeable future."[23]

Notes

[1]Ari Kiev, Curandierismo: Mexican-American Folk Psychiatry (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 15.

[2]The word "persists" is used because the practice of faith healing is illegal.

[3]For the medical point of view, the studies are numerous. See especially Margaret Clark, Health in the Mexican-American Culture (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1959) and Ari Kiev, Curanderismo.

[4]Both men and women practice curanderismo. Curandero, masculine singluar, will be used throughout this paper.

[5]See carancho is a type of culture.

[6]Jean Margaret Blaesser, "Curanderismo and Health Delivery Services," Unpublished thesis, Portland State University, 1974, p. 24.

[7]William Madsen, Mexican-Americans of South Texas (New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1964), p. 83.

[8]Kiev, p. 28.

[9]Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," Daedalus (Spring 1961), p. 296.

[10]Madsen, p. 71.

[11]Kiev, p. 34.

[12]Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1965), p. 35.

[13]Kiev, p. 189. Also see Madsen, especially pp. 91-96.

[14]Octavio Paz, El laberinto de la soledad (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1964), p. 12.

[15]Madsen, p. 100.

[16]Kiev, p. 17.

[17]Madsen, p. 91.

[18]Manuel, p. 35.

[19]Lyle Saunders, Cultural Difference and Medical Care (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), p. 145.

[20]Madsen, p. 95.

[21]Kiev, p. 192.

[22]Madsen, p. 69.

[23]Simmons, p. 298.

RAIMON O LA UNIFICACION DE LA REVUELTA

Jaime Pérez-Montaner
Lewis and Clark College

Escribió Joan Oliver en una de sus crónicas en prosa: "La conversación, el talante, el estilo del hombre, del poeta y del cantante me convencieron. Su éxito me pareció muy legítimo. Me daba cuenta de que Raimon venía a ser hoy, para nuestro país, una criatura providencial. ¡Podría suplir provisionalmente tantas cosas ahora arrinconadas por fuerza, rellenar tantas lagunas en el campo más vasto y más abierto--y más desatendido--de nuestra comunidad. . . !"[1] Han pasado ya desde entonces más de trece años; eran los años iniciales del Raimon poeta y cantante, y las esperanzas del gran escritor catalán no se han visto defraudadas. Raimon ha sido y es una "criatura providencial" para el surgimiento de la "nova cançó" y el renacer de la conciencia nacional de los pueblos catalanes. Y, afinando aún más, se encontraría también en Raimon si no la base sí el incentivo de la nueva canción castellana. De hecho es en los países catalanes donde surge primero el fenómeno de la nueva canción para extenderse después por todas las nacionalidades del estado español.[2]

Sin embargo, las condiciones no hubieran podido ser más difíciles en Cataluña durante el período franquista. En la década de los cuarenta la cultura estuvo oficialmente silenciada y el idioma catalán relegado desde el poder a la condición de "dialecto." Era la época, que se extendió hasta bien entrados los años cincuenta, del "Hable Ud. en cristiano" o de las afrentosas sanciones impuestas en muchas escuelas, a los niños catalanoparlantes que deslizaran en su conversación alguna palabra o expresión no castellana. A pesar de todo, tímida y semiclandestinamente al principio, la cultura continuó existiendo hasta producir la gran explosión editorial de los años sesenta, llegando entonces la publicación de libros en catalán a sobrepasar a veces la producción global castellana del estado español. Cuando se habla de libros hay que pensar, sin embargo, en términos muy relativos. Por razones culturales y sobre todo económicas el libro tiene un alcance limitado, y dada la imposibilidad de acceso del catalán a los grandes medios de comunicación--radio, cine, televisión y prensa--, había que pensar en un arte popular capaz de llegar a todos los sectores de la población. Es así como surge en numerosos intelectuales la idea de crear una canción catalana. En 1958 aparecen "por primera vez en la Historia, discos de canción moderna interpretada en catalán."[3] Se forma poco después el grupo "Els Setze Jutges" y la casa Edigsa lanza su primer disco en 1962: Espinà canta Brassens, al que siguen inmediatamente las primeras grabaciones de los otros miembros del grupo: Remei Margarit, Miquel Porter, Delfí Abella, y Francesc Pi de la Serra. Es el año también del primer disco de Raimon con las canciones Al vent, La pedra, Som, y A colps. En los quince años transcurridos la nueva canción catalana se ha convertido en un instrumento innegable de cultura nacional popular, cuyo alcance multitudinario apenas si podía entreverse. Elemento central e insustituible en el desarrollo de este movimiento ha sido la personalidad de Raimon. Sus canciones han sabido unificar las aspiraciones de democracia y reivindicación nacional de los pueblos catalanes, como símbolo de resistencia y testimonio de lucha contra la dictadura.

Se podría hablar en términos muy generales de dos grandes etapas en la trayectoria artística de Raimon: unas primeras canciones de corte existencialista, y un segundo período de mayor politización. La realidad de su arte, sin embargo, es bastante más compleja, pues ambas características se dan a la vez en muchas de sus composiciones y se extienden a lo largo de toda su producción. Lo que sí es evidente en él es un compromiso total como cantante y poeta con la realidad de su tiempo, lo que le conduce progresivamente a una maduración artística, tanto en la elaboración musical como en la poética, y a hacerse eco de las luchas por la restauración de la normalidad democrática y nacional en los países catalanes. Fidelidad a sí mismo y fidelidad a su público--en general, jóvenes que no conocieron la guerra civil, pero sufrieron sus consecuencias--y fidelidad a su pueblo--parafraseando los versos de Espriu en Inici de càntic en el temple--es la característica fundamental de Raimon; la que ha hecho que tanto antes como ahora sea considerado como "el mejor y más importante cantante catalán de todos los tiempos y el exponente más destacado de la nueva canción."[4]

Tras el éxito de sus primeras canciones vino el éxito comercial en 1963 al obtener con Se'n va anar el primer premio del Festival de la Canción del Mediterráneo. ¿Canción comercializada o canción comprometida? Raimon optó sin reservas por el camino más difícil, con las consecuencias que su elección conllevaba: continuas prohibiciones para actuar en teatros, total inaccesibilidad a las pantallas de Televisión Española, restricciones en la radiodifusión de sus discos, rígida censura sobre las letras de sus canciones. Sus recitales, sin embargo, se multiplicaron en universidades, fábricas y barrios, alternando con sus actuaciones en Francia, Cuba, Italia, Venezuela, Argentina, México, Suecia, Uruguay, Inglaterra, Alemania, Estados Unidos. Y sus canciones siempre en catalán, por razones nacionales, lingüísticas y también cívicas o sociales: "Yo cantaría en castellano en tanto y cuanto mi lengua no estuviera en una situación de inferioridad: cantaría en castellano cuando todo fuera normal en España. Quiero decir, cuando no fuera ninguna anormalidad allí cantar en catalán."[5]

Las primeras canciones de Raimon, por el mismo hecho de ser en catalán y sólo en catalán, fueron ya políticas. A partir de ahora, sin embargo, sus iniciales "gritos metafísicos," como las llamó Joan Fuster, se irán convirtiendo en gritos de rebeldía concreta, testimonios del lento avance hacia la democracia. Surge entonces Diguem no! (1963), canción inspirada en la detención y juicio de cincuenta y dos demócratas valencianos, algunos de ellos compañeros de universidad del cantante. Mutilada por la censura

en algunas estrofas, Diguem no! se convirtió muy pronto en algo así como el himno de la "nova cançó," exigida y coreada por el público en todos los recitales raimonianos:

Hem vist la fam ser pa per a molts.	Hemos visto el hambre ser pan para muchos.
Hem vist tancats a la presó homes plens de raó.	Hemos visto encarcelados Hombres llenos de razón.
No, jo dic no, diguem no. Nosaltres no som d'exe món.	No, yo digo no, digamos no. Nosotros no somos de ese mundo.

Y en la misma línea canta las esperanzas de los pueblos catalanes:

Cantarem la vida, cantarem la nostra vida de poble que no vol morir.	Cantaremos la vida, cantaremos nuestra vida de peublo que no quiere morir.

(Cantarem la vida, 1964)

Canción ridículamente desvirtuada por la censura con la inclusión forzosa del estribillo "Israel, Israel," pretendiendo convertirla en nostálgico lamento por la Tierra Prometida. En D'un temps, d'un país (1964) canta contra la guerra y la violencia y denuncia la miseria, "la miseria necesaria, dicen, de tanta gente." Refleja la emigración de miles y miles de campesinos españoles a las fábricas del norte de Europa en Cançó del que es queda (1965) y se identifica con ellos en No em mou al crit (1966). A partir de 1963 inicia al mismo tiempo sus composiciones sobre textos de otros poetas; Pere Quart (Joan Oliver) y sobre todo Salvador Espriu, entre los contemporáneos, y Ausiàs March, Anselm Turmeda, Jordi de Sant Jordi, Valeri Fuster, Joan Roís de Corella, y Joan Timoneda entre los autores clásicos. Ambos menesteres, además de producir alguna de las mejores canciones de Raimon y de difundir entre amplios sectores de la población a los mejores poetas catalanes, significan para el cantante una mayor profundización en las formas poéticas y musicales. Del canto gritado se pasa, con la musicación de los poemas de Espriu, al predominio de las formas recitativas y a un mayor desarrollo melódico,[6] llegando a cimas de serena belleza con los poemas de Ausiàs March y Jordi de Sant Jordi. En lo que se refiere a la dicción poética se han operado también cambios de gran importancia: en sus primeras canciones predominaban los metros cortos y generalmente libres; desde 1972 aumentan las composiciones de exactitud silábica, en especial el decasílabo clásico catalán, abandonando el laconismo del principio y madurando en complejidad conceptual.[7] Tal es el case, por ejemplo, de T'he conegut sempre igual (1973), inspirada al parecer en la figura del secretario general del PSUC, Gregorio López Raimundo, canción--como señala Manuel Sacristán --que "está adquiriendo la fuerza unificadora del Diguem no! de hace diez años."[8]

Poesía intimista o metafísica, poesía política y musicación de los grandes poetas clásicos y contemporáneos son las tres características que se dan a lo largo de toda la producción artística de Raimón; tres aspectos de la misma "fidelidad a los oprimidos" y "lucha contra los que oprimen," según las palabras del propio cantante. Y es esta fidelidad la que hace que incluso sus canciones amorosas aparezcan bañadas de un sentido de responsabilidad cívica y colectiva. O que poemas de apariencia fundamentalmente subjetiva revelen un carácter simbólico de lucha contra la dictadura, como en La nit (1964), "que llarga que és la nostra nit." Y así el poeta en Cançó de les mans (1964) denuncia y señala las "manos de los que matan, sucias," las "manos finas de los que mandan matar"; y canta en otra parte ante el pensamiento de la muerte:

Si em mor, que el cant siga ja realitat, que les esperances siguen fets i que d'altres continuen el que nosaltres continuem.	Si me muero, que el canto sea ya realidad, que las esperanzas sean hechos y que otros continúen lo que nosotros continuamos.

(Si em mor, 1964)

Y hace suyas en una admirable muestra de sinceridad y concisión las dudas en la lucha y las vacilaciones políticas:

Si saps d'on véns i on no vols anar, per què la lluita et cansa i encara et fa por? Si saps què vols, per què, per qui no ho fas? Per què, per qui?	Si sabes de dónde vienes y a dónde no quieres ir, ¿por qué la lucha te cansa y aún te da miedo? Si sabes qué quieres, ¿por qué, por quién no lo haces? ¿Por qué, por quién?

(Cançó del remordiment, 1965)

Es sin embargo en las canciones más directamente comprometidas en donde Raimon se convierte en la auténtica voz colectiva de todo el pueblo. El horror de la guerra civil y la violencia de la postguerra se reflejan en Quant jo vaig màixer (1966) y Quatre rius de sang (1967); y en T'adones amic (1972) incita el cantante a la revuelta como única solución posible:

T'adones, company, que hem de sortir al carrer junts, molts, quants més millor, si no volem perdre-ho tot, t'adones, amic.	Te das cuenta, compañero, que hemos de salir a la calle juntos, muchos, cuantos más mejor, si no queremos perderlo todo, te das cuenta, amigo.

En la misma línea están las dos canciones sobre el miedo, Sobre la por y Contra la por (1968) y la canción dedicada al Comandante Che Guevara, Sobre la pau (1967), referencia a la vez a los años de paz franquista, tan pregonados por el régimen; la paz como miedo, como muerte, como una palabra vacía, como "un vacío inmenso donde mueren los hombres." En Quan creus que ja s'acaba y De nit a casa, junts (1969), canciones que recuerdan el poema de Gabriel Ferrater La vida furtiva, se reflejan la represión y las detenciones policiales. En La muntanya es fa vella (1968) y Societat de consum (1970) adopta un lenguaje coloquial y un tono irónico y juguetón. La primera refleja el creciente temor e intranquilidad de la burguesía ante los hechos del mayo francés; la segunda expresa la manifiesta desigualdad adquisitiva en las sociedades basadas en la oferta y la demanda.

Los temas de Raimon tienen carácter universal y, por supuesto, son válidos tanto para los países catalanes como para el resto del estado español. Su público, por otra parte, se extiende por toda la geografía peninsular, y así él mismo lo refleja en sus canciones. Un sentimiento de solidaridad con las luchas del pueblo vasco le impulsa a escribir, tras su primer viaje a Euzkadi, El país basc (1967) y poco después la canción A un amic (1968). Y recuerda una de sus actuaciones en la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas de Madrid en la canción 18 de maig a la "villa" (1968), como uno de los oasis de libertad y democracia aún bajo el franquismo:

Per unes quantes hores ens vàrem sentir lliures, i qui ha sentit la llibertat té més forces per viure.	Por unas cuantas horas nos sentimos libres, y quien ha sentido la libertad tiene más fuerzas para vivir.

La canción catalana, con Raimon a la cabeza, ha recorrido un larguísimo camino en el transcurso de sólo quince años. Cantantes y grupos se han multiplicado por todo el país, y cantar en catalán es ya tan general que hay que buscar nuevas bases para el movimiento de la "nova cançó." También en este aspecto es Raimon quien marca el camino, y junto a él, por citar sólo a los más destacados, Pi de la Serra, Ovidi Montllor, Lluis Llach, Maria del Mar Bonet, or los grupos Al Tall y Uc: un tipo de canción que refleja y estimula las luchas unitarias por la restauración de las libertades democráticas y nacionales, una canción poderosa que ha sabido unir lo culto y lo popular y cuyos ritmos y melodías se escuchan, en las manifestaciones de Cataluña, Valencia, y Baleares, junto a los gritos de "Llibertat, Amnistia, Estatut d'Autonomia!"

Notes

[1]En Manuel Sacristán, "Amb tots los bons que em trob en companyia," nota introductoria a Poemes i cançons (Barcelona: Ariel, 1973), p. 13.

[2]Véase la entrevista de Tomás Segovia a Raimon, "Un arte popular y minoritario," Mundo Nuevo, 6 (diciembre 1966), págs. 30-46.

[3]Son las grabaciones Hermanas Serrano cantan en catalán los éxitos internacionales y José Guardiola canta en catalán los éxitos internacionales, en Jordi García-Soler, La nova cançó (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1976), pág. 29.

[4]Ibid., pág. 188.

[5]En Mundo Nuevo, pág. 33.

[6]Véase Sacristán, pág. 12.

[7]Véase Antoni Batista, "Balance de la 'Nova Cançó'," Triunfo, 672 (16 agosto 1975), págs. 25-27.

[8]Ob. cit., pág. 19.

MORE ON ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN THE DOUKHOBOR DIALECT

Alex P. Harshenin
University of British Columbia

0.1 During the last decade or so at least two papers on English loanwords in the Doukhobor (Russian) dialect of British Columbia have appeared; meanwhile many more loanwords of various kinds have been collected. This paper deals with a variety of English loanword (LW) in the dialect not yet adequately described in print.[1] I refer to the loanblend (LB) which characterizes whole classes of loans such as adjectives and verbs. A number of LB types are discernible in the data gathered over the years on the speech of older generation Doukhobors.

0.2 The LB may be generally described as a morphological hybrid, part of which is native and part borrowed or transferred. In Einar Haugen's (1950) original use of the term, a LB consists of a native non-inflectional morpheme substitution in a borrowed word form;[2] our examination of Doukhobor (D.) morpheme substitutions in English (E.) LWs will necessarily extend to inflectional morpheme substitutions which also modify the transferred stem in some way. The main type of E. LB in the dialect involves no substitutions at all but simply the addition of D. derivational morphemes to borrowed stems. LBs in D. speech may be grouped into three categories on the basis of how the native morpheme components are accommodated in them: additive, substitutive, and compounded. The compound LBs may posses added and/or substituted morphological elements.[3]

1.0 The additive loanblend. In additive LBs D. affixes are simply attached to borrowed stems. Often enough the transferred stem coexists as an independent LW. This type of LB forms many loan nouns and most loan adjectives and verbs.

1.1 Loanblend nouns. Normally, a LW noun forms a new stem by the addition of an affix (usually a suffix) to express diminution, agency, and the like. Two suffixes forming simple LB diminutives are [-(ó)k] and [-ik], e.g., [h,itarók] [h, itarká] 'a small heater (nom./gen. sg.)', consisting of the loan [h,ítər] 'heater' plus the native diminutive suffix [-(ó)k]. Similarly, [báks, ik] 'a little box' is formed from the loan [báks] 'box' and the suffix [-ik]. A further example of the latter is [fór,d,ik] 'a light Ford truck.' A third diminutive suffixal sequence, at times adding a derogatory note, is [-ís-k]: [bas, ískə] 'boss' (cf. neutral [bás]) and [trəxtar,ískə] 'tractor' (cf. [tráxtər]). Two more LB-forming suffixes include [-ssyk], denoting an agent, and [-at], a collective as in [hankárssyk] 'a handcar or sawmill carriage operator' (cf. [hankárə] for the vehicle itself) and [paról̓ssyk] 'parole officer,' and in [bəmatá] 'bums (collectively)' (cf. [bóm] 'bum'), respectively.

In one intriguing example in the data, the name of Simma Holt, the disliked author of a book on the Doukhobors highlighting the acts of the radical Freedomite group, appears as [s,imahól̓c,ixə].[4] That is, the writer's full name is taken as an unanalyzed masculine (M.) stem and adjusted by the use of the feminine (F.) noun-forming suffix [-ix] which in this case seems also to appropriately carry a slightly pejorative connotation.[5] Usually, of course, such a formation is a fairly neutral reference to the wife of man by the modified version of his surname, as in the LB [kl,íftən,ixə], meaning roughly 'Mrs. Clifton.'

Another F. noun formant is [-(ə)k] as in[skac,mánkə]/[skac,mánək] 'Scotchwoman (nom.sg./gen.pl.)' cf. M. [skac,mán] 'Scotchman' and in [kəstam,érkə] 'a female customer' cf. [kəstam,ér] 'a customer.'[6]

Sometimes more than one D. suffix is added to a borrowed stem. For instance, the LB [in,c,ówkə] 'a 1-inch board' is a combination of the transfer [in,c,ə] 'inch' plus the suffixes [-ów] and [-(ə)k], the former occurring alone in the loan adjective [in,c,ówəjə] 'inch (F.)'. A further modification of the same LB stem is possible by the prefixation of a quantitive morpheme like [pəl-] 'one-half,' yielding [pəlyn,c,ówkə] 'a half-inch board'. A greater degree of diminution of the LB [báks, ik] above is achieved by adding a second diminutive suffix: [báks, ic, ik]/[báks, ic, kə] 'a very small box (nom./gen.sg.)';[7] an agentive LB formed with [-ssyk] preceded by an additional suffix is [stukówssyk] 'stooker (of grain).'

1.2 Loanblend verbs. All borrowed verbs in the dialect are LBs. The most productive suffix in their formation is [-awá] which alternates with [-új] in present tense forms. Thus, when these suffixes are appended to a transfer like [bórt] 'board (as in "room and board")' the result is a verbal LB with non-present and present tense alternants such as [bərtawát,] 'to board (transitive)' and [bartúju] 'I board.' A perfective stem for the same verb may be formed by adding the prefix [pə-]: [pəbərtawát,] 'to board (a while)' and a reflexive stem, by adding the particle [-sə]: [(pə)bərtawátsə] 'to board (oneself).' Among the many other borrowed verbs of this type are: [bəsawát,] 'to boss,' [(z)brəkawát,] 'to go broke,' [(nə)k,inawát'] 'to can, preserve,' [(prə)m,istawát,] 'to miss' (the transferred component's E. model being "missed"), [pəmpawát,] 'to pump,' [(zə)pərkawát,] 'to park (a vehicle),' [rənawát,] 'to run or operate (something,' [sk,idawát,] 'to skid (logs),' and [(zə)stərdawát,] 'to start (a motor).'

An extended variant of the above verb LB-forming suffix is [-ir-awá] found in[trym,irawát,] 'to trim (lumber).' A third LB verb stem formant is [-i] in the verbs [kəltav, étər,it,] 'to cultivate' cf. [kəltav,étər] 'cultivator (implement)' and [sakhól̓n,ic,it,] 'to be extremely subservient, to act the part of a [sakhól̓n,ik].'

1.3 Loanblend adjectives. Loan adjectives appear regularly as LBs. A significant number of these blends are relative adjectives derived either by the addition of D. [-ów] ~ [-əw] or [-sk] or a combination of these suffixes. Compare, e.g., [il,ékt,r,ikəwəjə (lámpə)] 'electric (lamp,? [s,idarówəj (stólp)] 'cedar (post),' [hankárskəjə (kal,isó)] 'a handcar (wheel),' [s,ip,ijárskəj (wahón)] 'C. P. R. (coach),' and [s,idarówskəjə] '(a woman) from Cedar Creek.'

The possessive adjective formants [-in] and [-əw] ~ [-ów] also figure in loan adjectives like [nórs,inə (rabótə)] 'nurse's (work)' cf. [nórsə] 'nurse' and [ítənəw (kətalóx)] 'Eaton's (catalogue)'

It should be added that borrowed E. adjectives also come into the dialect as parts of unanlyzed transfers: [jélupájn] 'yellow pine,' [wájtpájn] 'white pine,' and [wájlk,át] 'wildcat.'

1.4 Other parts of speech are rarer as additive LBs. One delightful specimen is the greeting [halów] 'Hello!' which acquires the second-person plural marker [-t,ə] when more than a single person is addressed, becoming [halówt,ə]! Not surprisingly, the farewell equivalent is also heard: [gudbájt,ə] 'Goodbye!' One of the more freely forming marginal LB classes are the past passive participles. Examples: [(s)k,inówənnəjə] 'canned, preserved,' [zəparkówənnəjə (kárə)] 'a parked (car),' [splajsówənə]'spliced,' and [zəstardówənnəj (pərawós)] 'a started (motor)' Note also the adverb LB [pəc,ájmánsk,i] 'in a Chinese manner,' c.f. LW [c,ájmən] 'Chinaman.'

2.0 The substitutive loanblend. The dialect's substitutive LBs involve the replacement of some final segments of borrowed stems with apparent native derivational suffixes or at least a re-analysis of the stems as stem-plus-ending sequences, in which case the final segments are replaced by native desinences. Most, if not all, of the substitutive LBs are nouns.

2.1 The first substitutive type has affixes which, although usually meaningful elsewhere, may not be meaningful in a LB; the part of the transferred stem to which they are attached seldom occurs without them. Some of the suffixes forming nominal LBs of this type are [-(i)c], [-ér] ~ [-ir], [-ál,], and [-ák], which create M. nouns in the dialect, and [-ij-ə] which forms F. ones. Here are at least a minimum of examples illustrating the use of these suffixes in LBs. To begin with, the phonetic LB variant [xv,án,ic] 'fence' derives from E. [fɛ́n(t)s] plus the D. suffix [-(i)c] replacing the last segment or two. The LBs [kr,éjic] 'crayon' and [tóncy] 'tongs' are derived by the same process.

A number of D. suffixes substitute for E. [-ər]. The LB [majn,ér] 'miner,' for instance, is a result of combining E. [májnər] and D. [-ér], with the latter replacing the two-segment sequence [-ər] in the loan; the same holds for [kəstam,ér] 'customer (male)' cf. [kəstam,érkə] 'customer (female)' with an additional F. noun-forming suffix. Because of the dialectal phonological process of ikan'e--shifting unstressed non-high vowels following soft consonants to [i]--the unstressed surface counterpart of the D. suffix is undoubtedly [-ir]. In any case, the latter replaces E. [-ər] in a LB like [wáhn,ir] 'Wagner (apple)' or [buldóz,ir] 'bulldozer.'

There are still other morphological replacements of the E. segments [-ər] in LBs. In the related loans [buc,árn,ə] 'slaughterhouse' and [buc,árn,ik] 'butcher' the transferred component [buc,ár-] shows the substitution of D. [-ár] for the E. equivalent sequence; the additional suffixes [-n,-ə] and [-n,ik] respectively denote a place and an agent. In the loan meaning 'farmer,' however, E. [-ər] is replaced by D. [-ál,], yielding [xwarmál,]; cf. D. [kawál,] 'blacksmith.' Curiously a D. [-ər] substitution does occur, but for E. [-ow] in the LB [mahn,ftər] 'magneto' and in a variant of the loan forms for 'torpedo (r.R.),' [tarp,fdər].

In the same way the last segments of a borrowed stem may be substituted by the D. suffix [-ák] as in [sypl,ák] 'shiplap.' This same sequence occurs in the LW [tamr,ák] ~ [tamrák] 'tamarac' and in native words like [c,irdák] 'shed' and [durák] 'fool (M.)' cf. [dúrə] 'fool (F.).'

In many transfers, however, E. [-ər] appears simply as D. [-ər] with only phonological equivalence being evident. E.g., D. [álsər] 'ulcer,' [bójlər] 'boiler,' [drájvər] 'driver,' [kúgər] 'cougar,' and [lámbər] 'lumber.'

Inasmuch as the regular phonetic equivalent of E. [ij] in loans is D. [i], when word-final [ij] recurs in a loan and is followed by the F. desinence [-ə], it is obvious that a morphological substitution has occurred in which the D. suffix [-ij] has replaced the same E. segmental sequence. Thus it is in the LB [táks,ijə] 'taxi' (cf. the free phonetic variant in the transfer [táks,i]) and in [dərmatór,ijə] 'dormitory.' Note also the F. LB [m,éd,v,ijə] 'Midway (a place name)' in which the elements [-ej]--unstressed in the loan--are replaced by the suffix[-ij].

The foregoing substitutive LBs roughly correspond to Haugen's "loanblend derivatives."

2.2 A second kind of substitutive LB involves nominal inflectional suffixes which replace certain final segmental sequences in borrowed stems. In both instances of loanblending via substitution, the end results have much in common: the transferred stem is modified as a native suffix replaces the pertinent sequential portion of it.

2.21 There are, first of all, some borrowed stems whose final vocalic or vowel-consonant sequence is replaced by an overt native desinence.

The most obvious substitution of elements of a borrowed stem by a desinence is evident in LBs like [s,éksə] 'section (RR.),' where the unstressed F. nom. sing. ending [-ə] replaces the loan sequence [-ən]; similarly, in D. [bás,ikə] 'bicycle' the same ending replaces E. [-əl], while in [balónə] 'boloney/ Bologna sausage' and in [k,ándə] 'candy' it replaces the sequence [-ij].

Among the assorted variants of one LW a number of stages of substitution for [-ij] seem to be illustrated: as the loan forms of the word 'jelly,' there is on record the form [j,élə] patterning just like the foregoing substitution of [-ə] for [-ij] as well as the form [j,él,ə] in which the softness of the new stem's final consonant is expressed along with the morphological substitution of [-ə] for [ij], and even the form [j,él,i] where there is a straightforward phonological replacement of E. [-ij] by D. [-i]. In much the same way the loan for 'cannery' appears as [k,ánərə], [k,ánər,i], and [k,ánər], the last variant reflecting the complete loss of the final vowel in a stem felt to be M. and therefore requiring a zero ending in its surface, dictionary (nom. sg.) form. The latter treatment is sometimes also given some Canadian place names ending in a vowel or diphthong: [altón] 'Altona,' [k,álgər] 'Calgary,' and [pərtər,ík] 'Porto Rico (a place of former Freedomite exile near Nelson, B.C.).'

2.22 More strictly phonological in nature are the substitutions of ordinary desinences for final vocalic segments in some loans as, for instance, in [kukó] 'cocoa' (a word of uncertain gender and declension), [mazólə] 'Mazola (corn oil)' whose last segment [-ə] is a F. nom. sg. desinence, and [m,ik,iná] 'Mackinaw coats' with the ending [-á] in this case being analyzed as the nom. pl. of a M. noun, and therefore its nom. sg. is re-interpreted as [m,ák,in]. No strong claim is being made here that this last group of borrowings are LBs, which they resemble in a number of ways, but it is difficult to group them unreservedly with the pure LWs or transfers, knowing that significant morpheme substitutions and stem alterations have occurred in their formation.[8]

A good many of the second type of substitutive LBs are similar to Haugen's "loanblend stems."

3.0 There remains one more type of LB in the dialect to consider--the hybrid or LB compound. In the most basic of these LBs, part of the borrowed stem is replaced by a native word, or part of what might be interpreted as a fixed phrase is replaced by a LB plus a native word. Examples of the first subtype are rather limited. A clear case can be made for one variant of the LB [rədmás,t,ir] 'roadmaster (R.R.)' in which the first word [rəd-] of the compound is transferred and the second, [más,t,ir], is substituted. Conversely, the second part may be transferred and the first substituted as in loans with D. [pal-] (~[pał-]) 'one-half' prefixed to LWs: [palblókə] 'half-block,' [palg,álənə] 'half-gallon,' and [palpájntə] 'half-pint.'

Whole phrases which may be interpreted as LBs are more complex and more abundant: [ítənəwə láwkə] 'Eaton's store,' [kupál,nəj sút] 'bathing suit,' [pərus,ínəwəji búcy] 'canvas shoes' (via the LW [búc] 'boot, shoe'), [p,inácəwəjə máslə] 'peanut butter,' [sɛ́jl kətalóx] 'sale catalogue,' and [kr,is,t,ínə óz,irə] 'Christina Lake' cf. the transfer variant [kr,ístən lɛ́k]. These LB compounds contrasts with unanlyzed compounds found among the transfers: [ajskr,ím] 'ice cream,' [bakskárə] 'boxcar,' [b,átrum] 'bathroom,' [ɛ̀kstrəh,én,] 'extra gang (R.R.),' and [pàk,inháws] 'packing house.'

As perhaps already evident from a few earlier examples, LBs may themselves undergo further "blending" in that they may be made even more complex by the appending of additional native affixes. For instance, the nominal compound LB [rədmás,t,ir] may become a possessive adjective through further loanblending: [rədmás,t,irəwə (d,élə)] 'roadmaster's (business).' Other substitutive LBs may acquire additive native components as new stems are formed: the LB nominal stem [majn,ér] becomes an adjectival stem [majn,érskəjə (rabótə)] 'miner's work' when the relativizing formant [-sk] is added to it. The abstract noun [xwarmál,stwə]'farming' arises from the combination of the LB [xwarmál,] 'farmer' and the suffix [-stw]; and [sypl,ic,inə] 'a piece of shiplap,' from the LB [sypl,ák] plus the singulative formant [-in]. Similarly, quantitative morphemes may be prefixed to LBs. For example, in [pəlyn,c,ówkə] 'a half-inch board' and [dwùxyn,c,ówkə] 'a two-inch board,' the morphemes [pəl-] and [dwùx-] prefixed to [in,c,ówkə] compound an additive LB.

4.0 Even among the oldest, largely monolingual speakers of the Doukhobor dialect in B.C., the influence of Canadian English has been considerable. This influence is most readily observable in the dialect's borrowings from English. In this paper we have considered one variety of these borrowings, namely, the loanblends of which there are three basic types according to their formation: additive, substitutive, and compounded. Our study has helped to fill out the previous studies in the area of English loanwords in the dialect.

Notes

[1]The two papers known to be in print on the subject are the author's "English Loanwords in the Doukhobor Dialect: I," Canadian Slavonic Papers, 6 (1964), pp. 38-43 and "English Loanwords in the Doukhobor Dialect: II," CSP, 9 (1967), pp. 216-30. While the second paper dealt exclusively with transfers, the first introduced a meagre sampling of all general varieties of LWs, including a few additive LBs and compounds.

[2]For details see Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language, 26 (1950), pp. 218-19, or his "Problems in Bilingualism," Lingua, 2 (1950' p. 288. Uriel Weinreich, in his Languages in Contact: Problems and Findings (New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953), pp. 51-53, treats all the LBs he discusses as "hybrid compounds."

[3]To bypass, for the time being, the problems raised by positing abstract underlying representations, the loan words will be discussed here in terms of their surface representations given in broad phonetics.

[4]The book in question is Simma Holt's Terror in the Name of God (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964).

[5]It may be of interest to observe the change of [t] to [c,] before the suffix [-ix], a change which implies the presence of a yod after [t] at a more abstract phonological level.

[6]Some of the abbreviations of morphological terms used in this paper, but not given in the text, are: Nom. = nominative case; gen. = genitive case; sg. = singular number; pl. = plural number.

[7]It is apparent that the stem-final [k] of the first diminutive becomes [c,] before the second diminutive suffix, whose vowel is then deleted before a vocalic desinence by phonological rules operating at more abstract levels--at least in one analysis.

[8]Some of these borderline LBs were in fact listed as transfers in the second article referred to in footnote 1 above.

LINGUISTICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA: A CASE HISTORY OF AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM

Robert B. Hausmann
University of Montana

Several faculty members from seven different departments at the University of Montana have been trying o establish a Linguistics Program over the past six years. We have succeeded rather well, in our opinion, despite the fact that universities are designed to further the goals of departments, not interdisciplinary programs. Many other universities in the Northwest are currently engaged in attempts to form Linguistics Programs as well, and we offer the following discussion of our problems at Montana as an analysis of the kinds of frustration those who are considering establishing Linguistics Programs are likely to encounter.

I can sketch the history of the outward signs of development of our program rather quickly. In 1971 two departments--English and Foreign Languages--at the University of Montana hired linguists quite independently of each other. At that time, there had formed on campus an Ad Hoc Committee on Linguistics, a committee composed of almost anyone on campus who had an interest in language. The committee had met the previous year and spent most of its time trying to decide what linguistics was. When the two linguists appeared on campus the fall of 1971, the chairmanship of the committee was given to one of them. There were at that time four linguists on campus, two in English and two in Foreign Languages.

Our first step was to convince our departments to allow us to offer more sections of the Introduction to Linguistics--even with relatively small student enrollments (around 25)--and to insist on teaching, sometimes to two or three students, more advanced courses in our areas of specialty. We also encouraged departments that required language courses--like phonetics--to require the Introduction.

The following year was a catalogue year. We compiled all linguistics related courses in the University Bulletin under the heading Linguistics; these courses were listed, of course, by departmental call numbers. The next year we created linguistics call numbers, cross-listing almost every course offered with an existing departmental course; at the same time, we created two "bag" numbers: Intermediate Topics in Linguistics and Advanced Topics in Linguistics.

We now offer twice as many sections of the Introduction to Linguistics as we did in 1971. We have almost tripled the number of students enrolled (projected at 260 this year) in basic, core linguistics courses (courses like the Introduction, phonology, syntax, semantics, social and regional dialects, and linguistic field methods). These courses are taught almost every year. Two faculty members have the sole responsibility for teaching these core courses, and they teach in the Program at most 2/3 time. Twice in six years another faculty member on the linguistics committee has taught a section of the Introduction to Linguistics.

The major problem any interdisciplinary program is going to face is the intrinsic conflict between departmental organization of the university and interdisciplinary programs. This conflict is no small matter. At least eight interdisciplinary programs exist on the University of Montana campus. Figures on these programs are difficult to compile; nonetheless, my calculations indicate that at least 60 faculty members teach in them. Almost 19% of the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences therefore is involved. Over 3,000 students were enrolled in these courses last year.

Before I begin with my lamentations, let me point out that the strength of the Linguistics Program is due, in the main, to the help we have had from those departments which have been active in the development of the Program. Support comes primarily from the Departments of English and Foreign Languages with some from Anthropology and Communication Sciences and Disorders. For all the ways that I feel that the departmental structure of the university militates against interdisciplinary programs, I am not forgetting that the Linguistics Program exists because departments have wanted it to exist. My underlying argument is that although the departmental structure aids the initial formation of interdisciplinary programs, there comes a time when this very structure impedes continuance of such programs.

The Linguistics Program is non-funded, run by the Linguistics Committee which includes representatives from Anthropology (1 member), Communication Sciences and Disorders (1), English (2), Foreign Languages (5), Interpersonal Communication (1), Religious Studies (1), and Sociology (1). The Program offers no major in linguistics, although a student may, as of this year, take thirty credits in Linguistics as a partial fulfillment of degree requirements in Anthropology, English, and Foreign Languages. We offer no M.A., and yet we have several students who are working in Linguistics as part of an interdisciplinary M.A. While linguistics courses have separate numbers, all but one of the courses, Historical Linguistics, are cross-listed with at least one department (and often two). At least one Linguistics course is required in Anthropology and in Communication Sciences and Disorders; English majors not in creative writing must take one Linguistics course, as must all M.A. candidates. Staff for the Program comes almost completely from English and Foreign Languages. As in other fledgling programs, we often teach courses on top of our regular class assignments.

Partly because of changes in departmental requirements for the course and partly because students are becoming aware of the Program, our offering in Introduction to Linguistics--a three-hundred-level

course--has increased from two sections of thirty students a year in 1971-72 to two sections each quarter. This fall quarter we taught three sections of that course. We offer, on the average, two advanced courses each quarter which have the Introduction as a prerequisite, enrollment in these classes runs between eight and twenty students. We offer, again on the average, two other Linguistics courses each quarter with no prerequisite; enrollment in these courses is around twenty students each. We teach, therefore, around 400 students a year with a staff equivalent of 3-1/2 FTE.

Every program, new or old, has nagging little problems. They get solved, although it takes energy to do it. For example, it took us two years to get Linguistics listed in the phone book. We did not get our name in the book because we were never notified that phone copy was due. We were not notified, of course, because our name was not in the phone book. We also did not regularly get our mail for a couple of years. Mail addressed to the Program went to Foreign Languages, which had to send it on to us. By establishing the Program as described and by solving these minor problems, we have achieved a nominal identity. What we need now, but are incapable of giving ourselves, is greater degree of personnel, fiscal, academic, and political autonomy in order to assure the continuance and improvement of our Program.

Personnel

As is true for any academic program, our major problem comes in personnel matters. Our problem, however, is different from the departments', for we have no control over our personnel. When the Linguistics Committee was appointed by the Dean in 1971, we looked around to find that there were four linguists on campus. None of these faculty had been hired with any intent to start a Program in Linguistics; it was simply fortuitous that both English and Foreign Languages had hired, quite independently of each other, a number of linguists. We started from this talent already on campus. Since that time, 2-1/3 linguists have been added to the faculty (Foreign Languages has hired a linguist 1/3 time). These faculty were hired not because of their training in Linguistics but in order to fulfill other departmental needs. As things now stand, should any of them leave for any reason, the Linguistics Committee would not be consulted for recommendations on a replacement. Instead, the individual departments would look to their staffing needs and make the decision independent of us. Our departments often must hire faculty with multiple talents; even were the department interested in hiring a linguist as well as a specialist in some other field, it is unreasonable to assume that there are many qualified people around with both of these talents. Since Linguistics is less important to these departments than other kinds of training, the compromise would be made to Linguistics' disadvantage.

If no one leaves, we still have trouble counting on staff. Each of us fulfills his department's needs before he can teach in the interdisciplinary program. Should the departments, because of changes in enrollment patterns or for any other reason, need a higher percentage of time from us, we would have to curtail our teaching in Linguistics. It is almost impossible for us to plan our curriculum when each year we must wait for the departmental chairmen to assess their priorities before we can determine what we can offer.

The question remains what to do about these personnel matters. I see no easy solution. A step in the right direction would be to ask interdisciplinary programs to contribute to faculty evaluations. We are only consulted now if a department is interested in promoting a faculty member and wants some additional data to support the recommendation to the administration. (I have been asked but twice to write a letter for one of the Linguistics Committee's twelve members and, in those cases, the department had already decided to recommend a merit raise.) If participation in interdisciplinary programs were valued in some significant way, the departments would start thinking in terms of their responsibility to interdisciplinary programs.

In the past, universities solved problems associated with staffing interdisciplinary programs by taking faculty 1/2 or 1/3 time from the host departments and creating a new department. The interdisciplinary program was no longer totally dependent on the host departments, for the interdisciplinary faculty were committed to the program in financial terms; at least 1/3 of their salaries came from the interdisciplinary program. Not only did this procedure assure the program of its continuance, but it also encouraged the shared faculty member to be more committed to the interdisciplinary program; his promotion depended on the new program at least as much as the old. The problem with this robbing of Peter to pay Paul is that the size, the prestige, and the budget of the old department is decreased. What is tragic and detrimental to the development of cross-departmental teaching is that the very departments which have aided the growth of new programs are punished, in effect, for being innovative and adventuresome.

The most solvent universities tried to soften the blow to the original departments by compensating them for their loss with appropriate budget adjustments. If a department gave of 1/3 of a line, the administration repaid the department with the same 1/3 line the next year. But what is a department going to do with 1/3 of a line? You cannot hire a full line with a 1/3 salary. In a university like ours where each department needs more staff and where we have such a small increase in appropriations, this is not even an option. We must figure a way to insure that the interdisciplinary faculty members themselves see the interdisciplinary program as important to their careers as membership in the host departments.

Fiscal

There are fiscal problems as well. Interdisciplinary programs have no source of graduate assistantships with which to attract or keep quality students. We have no money for research assistants or work-study assistance. All secretarial and office supplies support comes from our host departments, as well as money for visiting lecturers, program advertisement, travel, etc.

These kinds of expenses are small now; they are likely to be so in the near future. Because no separate funds are available, however, we never ask to develop our program in ways that cost money. More serious than these small expenses is the percentage of host department funds that are expended for faculty salaries. As long as a program is small, this is a small matter. But when the program begins to catch on, when more and more courses are needed, an unfair burden is put on the departments which happen to house the bulk of the Linguistics staff. For example, English and Foreign Languages teach over 90% of the Linguistics courses. Linguistics, however, is (or could be) an integral part of three other departments: Anthropology, Communication Sciences and Disorders, and Interpersonal Communication. Since these departments do not have staff qualified to teach in the core Linguistics Program, requests by them for more Linguistics courses for their students must be met from the English and Foreign Languages budgets. The time is on us right now when we could use current staff members from these two departments a higher percentage of time. However, there is limit to the degree to which these two departments can (or should) pay for programs that primarily benefit other departments: after all, English and Foreign Languages have other responsibilities to the university. Again, I have no solution to this problem, but it stands directly in the way of the growth of Linguistics.

Academic

These matters of staffing courses lead to a rather serious academic problem that all interdisciplinary programs, as well as all departments, face. One way Linguistics could call attention to itself is by trying to increase student enrollment to the point where we could make dramatic requests for more faculty lines. We could do this by allowing our introductory course to swell to numbers as great as the demand (we now close the classes at thirty); we could raise the credits for the introductory classes from three to five; we could ease up considerably on our grading so that lots of students would take the course as a "gut"; and we could offer more sections of the Introduction and fewer advanced classes. If we offered more sections of the Introduction and fewer advanced classes, we would, in effect, destroy our Program. We would be but a service course for several departments; if we eased up on our grading, we would be demanding less of our students and greatly decreasing the quality of our Program. If we raised credits from three to five, we would either cut the number of Linguistics courses we could teach or be teaching overloads (everyone in Linguistics teaches at least nine credits a quarter and often more). Furthermore, we would be participating in the credit inflation that is running rampant through the University. We feel we now offer an honest (albeit demanding) three credit course. And finally, if we opened up our classes to meet student demand, we could not effectively teach the subject matter. Each of these ways to increase our visibility to the administration and the University and therefore increase the number of courses we can offer would destroy our intent to offer a high-quality program for other departments to students who are really ready to study. And yet the temptation to sacrifice quality to quantity is tremendous. Even our own Linguistics Committee has suggested that we make some of these compromises. There must be found a way to support small quality programs and departments in this university. As things stand now, those departments whose content is such that they can teach huge lecture sections are the ones which get the most budgetary attention.

Political

The political environment that we and all other interdisciplinary programs must contend with is so touchy that I am tempted not to go into it. Should we have different chairmen in English or Foreign Languages, people not sympathetic to Linguistics, our chance to teach the Linguistics courses we now teach--in fact, the entire Linguistics Program--could be taken away in a quarter. Or take a different example, one of communication. The Linguistics Program does not receive communications from many of the administrators; it is not invited to attend meetings where department chairmen are represented, say meetings with candidates for administrative positions, etc. When administrative matters which may affect our Program are discussed, we must count on our departmental chairmen to keep our interests in mind. Whether or not matters are discussed which affect us, our visibility and sense of permanence would be improved by being included in these deliberations. I need not, I suppose, elaborate on what being treated as ever increasingly dispensable does for our morale.

To repeat, the problems I have discussed here for Linguistics are problems for all interdisciplinary programs; each one of them could add to the list. Although no one would be so foolish as to suggest that all the interdisciplinary programs are the backbone of our educational institutions, development of interdisciplinary programs is systematically discouraged on campuses, not by intention, perhaps, but certainly through inattention, in spite of all the rhetoric to the contrary. Once interdisciplinary programs have demonstrated their value, we must find a way to encourage them to continue their contribution to the university. Our interdisciplinary programs, after all, are one way that we can make our university responsive to changes in our intellectual traditions.

I have tried to give you examples of the basic problems any interdisciplinary program is going to run into in our university organization. Our program at Montana has succeeded; I would like to give you some idea of why we have had such luck.

First and foremost, we have succeeded because those on the Linguistics Committee, especially the two people teaching in the core curriculum, have wanted it to succeed. We have taught more courses than our departments have assigned us. We have given public lectures, worked with other departments for interdisciplinary graduate degrees, done everything possible to get on university committees, worked very hard for our own departments' interests, and have met with our students at every possible opportunity to give them a sense that they are participating in a real program. We have given the entire university community a sense that something good is going on in Linguistics.

Furthermore, we have published as well and as extensively as we can. No interdisciplinary program will be allowed to grow and approach departmental status unless it can be demonstrated that the faculty involved are respected by members outside a particular university's campus. I cannot stress the importance of this enough. No dean or faculty senate will allow a program to exist which cannot be quickly dismantled unless the faculty in that program give the university administration confidence that the energy will not disappear in a couple of years, that the program is not a flash in the pan. Our university tried recently to dismantle the Humanities Program mainly because it did not seem to have high enough academic standards. The faculty members in that program had tenure, and there was simply no way not to rehire them. The dean asked individual departments to house these faculty, one in English, one in Religious Studies, one in History, and one in Art. Only one of the faculty members was acceptable to the individual departments. The departments simply refused to take them, even though such an act would have increased the departmental budget and the number of courses the department could have offered.

Our Linguistics Committee includes as many faculty from as many different departments as reasonable; we even have a philologist Greek grammarian from Religious Studies. It is only from such a broad base that we can get the political support to advance our interests. If we want exemption from some university regulation--for example, a relaxation of the recently imposed restriction that a course could only be cross-listed if faculty from both departments regularly teach the course--we have many different departments to write in support of our requests. These faculty members never impede the development of the real Linguistics Program because they have only marginal interest in the Program and because they realize that they do not have the experience or training to judge such matters. The faculty often is a quite reliable sounding board for advising us on how particular departments will respond to our proposals.

It is important to realize that the Linguistics Program was never formally constituted by the Dean. We simply met and functioned as if we had the authority to function. The year that our course numbers were approved, we just started calling ourselves a program, got our name in the phone book, etc. We urged our departmental chairmen to call our attention to any university matter which might affect us; we ferreted out when departmental chairmen were assembled by the Dean and attended these meetings without explanation.

It might appear that we were shoving our weight around. Nothing could be further from the truth. We kept our chairmen informed of our every act and tried to encourage the idea that each of us was working first for the department and second for the program. We still follow this practice. The quickest way to be stopped is to appear to be empire-building; and that is a problem, for, of course, we are empire-building.

Our major push now is to get a separate budget, and we are likely to do so for next year. Our tactic has been to bother the Dean at every possible occasion. Every financial request from six dollars on up goes through his office. We send a copy of every memo that reflects well on us to him. And we ask him to resolve every single conflict, no matter how slight, we have with the departments. Our assumption, and it really does seem to be working, is that he will try to get us out of his hair by giving us a separate budget and some authority separate from that of the departments if he has to deal with us every other week.

Well, that is it in a nutshell. We have tried to give you a sense of our program, of the problems we currently face, and of the steps we have gone through to get where we are. Linguistics, by the very nature and history of the discipline in the United States, has something very important to offer a university, for the field has so many implications for so many traditional departments. Establishing such a program is tremendously hard work but it is an equally rewarding challenge, especially in times when universities are required to cut the frills. What one must do to establish a program is to convince a university community that Linguistics is not a frill.

ENLIVEN YOUR LANGUAGE HISTORICALLY!

Helga Hosford and O. W. Rolfe
University of Montana

The historical awareness of our students has been sharpened by the recent celebration of America's Bicentennial. Student interest in the histories of their own families, their country, and their ethnic backgrounds appears to be on the up-swing. We propose to maintain, support, and capitalize upon this historical curiosity by using interesting items from the history and development of the languages we teach to enliven foreign language classes and to enhance our students' knowledge of and about the languages.

In teaching foreign languages, information about linguistic structures is often presented as static, irrefutable, and forever unchanging facts. The language teacher states, for example, that "in," or "to" with the names of cities in French is à and the student must accept it or be wrong. However, if the student knows that in earlier stages of French there was hesitation between en and à before the names of cities, and that vestiges of this can still be seen in such expressions as the provençal en Avignon, he can accept the particular preference of modern French usage with better grace as well as gain insight into the manner in which languages change. Therefore, in imparting historical information we are "letting the student in" on the functioning of language and helping him to view it as a structure which is constantly in a state of flux. And, somehow, his "errors" do not seem so grievous to him if he knows that they may have been considered "correct" at one time.

We will present historical examples of the structures of German, French, and Spanish which we consider useful in teaching the modern languages, and which can be interesting and even exciting to students as well. We hope to stimulate your interest in using historical linguistics in foreign language teaching, and trust that it will prompt you to begin your own repertoire of historical events.

EXAMPLES FROM PHONOLOGY

German

In the discussion of German, a comparison with English offers itself easily due to the close genetic relationship of the two languages. The earliest documents of English and German date from about 700 AD. Old English, Old High German, and Old Saxon (the latter giving rise to Low German) betray their common Germanic origin.

High German, through the interplay of various historical factors, has become the standard German language; had Low German become standard, our English speaking students would find learning German easier.

The most important difference between High and Low German is in their phonological structure caused by a consonant shift in pre-Old High German times which spread with decreasing intensity from Southern Germany northward, never reaching Low German.

High German has for all Germanic (i.e. English) /p, t, k/ the affricates /pf, ts/ (spelled z), and in some dialects /kx/ word initially, and the sounds orthographically represented as ff, ss, ch between vowels. This explains the correspondences between such pairs as pepper-Pfeffer, token-Zeichen, water-Wasser, make-machen, etc. In a shift related to this one, Germanic /d/ corresponds to German /t/ explaining day-Tag, leader-Leiter, etc. English th appears as German /d/ as seen in words such as thing-Ding, the-die, leather-Leder, etc.

Innumerable German words can at least be guessed at when the workings of the Old High German shift are known, and this knowledge is helpful for the building of vocabulary.

French

One contribution of historical phonology to the teaching of French is to broaden students' understanding of what appears to them to be utter chaos in Modern French orthography. To know that Old French has triphthongs and the eau was undoubtedly pronounced /eaw/, but was later monophthongized to /o/; or that the present spelling of ou for the /u/ phoneme was indeed pronounced as the diphthong /ow/, gives at least an explanation for the manner of spelling these sounds and makes the whole task less unreasonable.

Comparison of cognates can be used for evidence; for example, French voyage was borrowed into English when the /oi/ diphthong was pronounced as such, hence the English pronunciation /vɔjəj/. However, the diphthong underwent several more changes in French, ultimately resulting in /wa/. Students usually pronounce the sound in the English manner, but are much less inclined to do so after a brief survey of the history.

Spanish

Historical insight helps greatly in explaining why the Spanish h is not pronounced. The h was pronounced at one time; it was aspirated much as our English /h/. In general, it evolved from the /f/

of Latin, as in facere becoming hacer; hoja has its origin in the same word as foliage (folia), and hambre, in the same word as famine (famen). There are still parts of Spain where we hear h pronounced, but generally Castilian silenced it.

Diphthongization of the vowel of stressed syllables, particularly of "radical-changing" verbs, can be elucidated as a characteristic of the historical development of Spanish, with a very systematic pattern which can be shown in other word classes as well as in the verb stem. One helpful feature of this is that English cognates will be more visible if for some nouns the student learns to make his own substitutions: cuerpo, fuerza, tiempo, and miembro for body (corps, corpse), force, time (tempo), and member.

EXAMPLES FROM MORPHOLOGY

German

When introducing morphological items, it is helpful to point out that English in its earlier periods had such "bothersome" phenomena as gender distinctions, adjective declensions, and more inflectional endings on verbs and nouns. German is more conservative in retaining these, thereby causing our students some headaches.

One morphological structure with which our students are familiar is the so-called "irregular" verb. The term "irregular" is unfortunate, since it implies something complicated and difficult to learn. In fact, these verbs are by no means irregular; they are reflexes of a vowel alternation, inherited from Indo-European, and regularized in the Germanic languages in verbs for tense formation. The phenomenon of vowel alternations was called by Jacob Grimm (of fairy-tale fame) Ablaut (vowel gradation), and the verbs are known as "strong" verbs as opposed to "weak" verbs which form their tenses with a dental suffix. Both the regularized vocalic alternations in the strong verbs and the dental suffix in the weak verbs are genuine Germanic "inventions." Modern English has between 100 and 130 strong verbs, and German has a few more.

In Old English, Old High German, and the other Germanic languages, these verbs were grouped according to their stem vowels and surrounding consonants into seven classes. Later developments, however, caused more distinctions, so that the seven classes are no longer sufficient.

Many textbooks present the strong verbs in alphabetical order, or still worse, with the inclusion of compounds, listing stehen and verstehen together. The result is an endless list with a seemingly enormous variety of vowel alternations which strengthens the students' belief that German is "hard." It would be much easier to group the verbs according to their stem vowels, such as the English "sing-sang-sung"; twenty verbs are in this class with the stem vowel /i/ followed by /n/ plus consonant (singen-sang-gesungen), and another ten verbs can be grouped into a class of /i/ followed by a double nasal (beginnen-begann-begonnen). Once the students are familiar with the strong verbs, their awareness of the vowel alternations can be utilized for vocabulary building by word formation. The Ablaut functions in an easily recognizable manner in a host of word families; the verb binden-band-gebunden is related to das Band, der Bund, das Bündel, das Bündnis, das Gebinde, der Verband, die Binde, etc.

French

As has been explained for German, the beginning student's typically insurmountable problem--irregular verbs--can take on new interest, and with the help of historical insight, become less arduous.

The verb aller, which takes its present singular and third plural from Latin vadere (vais, vas, va vont) and its first and second plural from a Vulgar Latin derivative of ambulare (allons, allez), becomes less whimsical, inexplicable, and more real to the student, as the history is revealed. Similar phonomena in English, such as the various suppletive forms of the verb "to go" can be used for corroborative evidence.

During the 16th century the French language enjoyed interplay among various future stems of some verbs; that is, it hesitated often between choosing the infinitive or an "irregular" stem, much as our students do today. Thus, we find for the verb devoir (future stem devr-) such forms as deveray, doiburoit, and for the verb voir (future stem verr-) such forms as verray and voirray. Native speakers of 16th century France shared some problems which still trouble students today.

Spanish

Again, examples can be drawn from the verbal system. The striking difference between the tense-aspect morph of the -ar verbs (-aba-) and that of the -er and -ir verbs (-ía) can be made more comprehensible by a retrospective glance. In Latin things were more regular. Regardless of the stem, and of the conjugation (-āre, -ēre, -ere, -īre), the tense-aspect form was -ba-. Supposing then that certain other changes had not taken place, we might now have ended up with: cantar: cantaba (which it is.); comer: *comeba (which it is not!); oír: *oíba (which it is not!). The essential fact is that -ar verbs kept the b, while -er and -ir dropped it. Then, both -ēa- and -ía- fused into -ía-, by the thirteenth century.

Now, an interesting case is the verb ir; an -ir verb which in the imperfect retains its ancestral -b-: iba, ibas, iba. So, iba is not such an irregular imperfect after all!

EXAMPLES FROM LEXICON

German

The most interesting and enjoyable utilization of historical awareness is afforded by the lexicon, since the etymology of words reflects the culture of by-gone times and allows insights into cultural changes.

Let us look at some everyday words: The word family Berg "mountain" and Burg "castle" remind us again of Ablaut. On the mountain (Berg) a nobleman would build his castle (Burg) because of the natural protection offered by high elevation. In times of danger the people outside the Burg, mostly farmers, would come into the Burg to protect it and themselves. When the Burg widened out to become a town, its inhabitants were the Bürger. French borrowed the word as bourgeois. English "town," incidentally, is related to German Zaun ("fence"), recalling the fortified city-walls of medieval settlements.

Our modern Bürger lives in a Haus which is derived from an Indo-European word meaning "to cover, surround, enfold." The house has Wände ("walls") and the German word comes from winden ("to wind, weave"), the straw frame of the buildings onto which stucco was thrown. The Bürger can look through the Fenster "window" which is a Latin loan word; the old Germanic window means "eye to the wind" and has become lost in German.

The house is divided into rooms (Zimmer) which is a cognate to English "timber" (a room is that which is "timbered" in). In turn "timber" (respectively Zimmer) is related to Latin domus ("house"). Our Bürger sits at a table (Tisch) which originally was a round plate with legs from which a person ate. English "dish" still reflects this custom. While eating, the Bürger sits on a chair (Stuhl) and the German word originally meant "that which stands," later "seat." The Old High German word faltstuol "folding chair" gave French fauteuil; English received its word "chair" from French, but kept the Germanic term "stool" for the more uncomfortable piece of furniture.

The Bürger eats Brot "bread" which he cuts with his Messer "knife." Brot is related to "brew" and originally meant sourdough bread which is made by fermentation, just as beverages are. The unleavened bread was hlāf ("loaf") which survives in English "lord" meaning the "warden of the bread" (hlāford), and in "lady" "the bread-kneader" (hlāēfdige). Messer ("knife") was Old High German mezzirahs, meaning "meal" in the first part of the compound and giving rise to Modern English "meat" with a narrowed meaning. It still appears in Modern High German Mettwurst, a type of sausage. The second part of the compound is related to Latin saxum ("stone"), which also was the name of the Germanic tribe (Saxons) which settled in Britain and named Sussex, Middlesex, etc. Messer, therefore, meant originally "stone for the meal" harking back to Stone Age culture. When metal was introduced with the Bronze Age and later the Iron Age, seax meant "sword." Today it survives as Axt ("axe"). We had better leave our Bürger now, as it is neither polite (höflich meaning "courtly"), nor nice (nett meaning originally "ignorant") to watch someone while eating.

French

Since the lexicon is the structure of language most subject to change and that structure which most readily reflects cultural influence, it is the domain where the culture, language, and history of a people can find a common ground; hence insights galore can be had for the searching, and many an otherwise wasted moment just before the bell rings can be filled with inspiration.

Latin caput ("head") has become French chef, with a restricted meaning; however, Vulgar Latin testa ("caldron, big pot") has evolved into French tête ("head"). Bourgeois originally meant the inhabitant of a bourg (a word we have already met in the preceding section of this paper), then came to mean a citizen of the middle class, an enviable status during the Middle Ages. Later, having been exposed to the envy of the "have-nots" and the scorn of the nobles, whom he was inclined to ape, he became the butt of mockery and the word took on a pejorative connotation, which lasts to the present day.

A further dimension to lexical information can be offered by comparison with French loan words in English. The Old French hospital, has yielded "hostel," and "hotel" in English, both with different meanings, and hôpital and hôtel in Modern French.

Spanish

Spanish can also count in its vocabulary a number of words whose metaphorical sense in Vulgar Latin became the standard meaning. Between crus ("leg") and perna ("leg of pork or ham"), Spanish adopted the latter, pierna ("human leg"). Another tendency in the Vulgar Latin of Spain must have been the use of diminutive suffixes (such as English "horsie" or Spanish caballito). We know this because a word such as oreja (Modern Spanish "ear") could only come from the diminutive auricula, not auris.

Words adopted into Spanish from other languages reflect the extent and nature of cultural contact with their speakers. Some of the most familiar words we can mention from Pre-Roman times are pizarra ("slate," and by extension "chalk-board"); sapo ("toad"), and vega ("fertile plain"), as in Las Vegas. From Roman times, the spoken Latin of Spain favored the use of many words that did not survive in other modern Romance languages: comedere > comer ("to eat"), precontáre > preguntar ("to ask"), and metus > miedo ("fear"). Then there are some Latin words which are conspicuously absent from Spanish, losing their place to words of other origin; canis ("dog" giving way to perro), frater, soror ("brother, sister" giving way to hermano and hermana). The contact between Germanic tribes and Roman colonizers introduced words showing antagonistic relations (guerra "war," robar "to steal") as well as peaceful (falda "skirt," harpa "harp"). From the eighth through the fifteenth centuries, the Arabic presence in Spain exerted tremendous influence in many fields. Its influence in vocabulary is second only to Latin. Many words will be immediately recognized by speakers of English: alfalfa, tarifa, algebra, alcohol, and jazmín. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the prestige of French has made its mark on Spanish vocabulary: chef was reworked as jefe ("chief"). Others more recognizable from English cognates are banquete, convoy, and marcha. The most recent pronounced foreign influence has been from English: beisbol ("baseball"), lonche ("lunch"), and supermercado ("supermarket").

We hope that we have made clear with this quick trip back several centuries in time, and spanning numerous languages from two major families, that the historical development of languages is a potential storehouse of information, insight, anecdotes and inspirations which can have a powerful and beneficial impact of the teaching of beginning languages. One need be neither linguist nor language historian to make use of these vast resources. Just begin to read here and there about the history of your particular language, pick out the events and/or words that fascinate you, use them in your teaching, and watch your repertoire grow!

VARIATIONS ON CHAFE'S SEMANTIC BASE

Anthony Mattina, et al.*
University of Montana

0. Introduction
1. A semantically-based grammar
2. Semantic structure rules
   2.1. State
   2.2. Process-action
3. Revisions of SS rules
   3.1. Implications of revisions
   3.2. Differences between PS and SS rules

0. This paper makes a few modifications to a section of Wallace L. Chafe's semantic rules[1] to generate well-formed semantic configurations which underlie surface utterances. The paper concentrates on the subset of rules that operate on V (Verb) assigning to it (a) semantic specifications and (b) semantic configurations.

The generative framework within which Chafe's model is formulated insists on the identification of the semantic and syntactic components of the grammar. Whereas in broad theoretical lines this view of grammar coincides with that of the so-called generative semanticists, and with that of Frans Liefrink's Semantico-Syntax,[2] its actual format differs significantly from these two, and resembles that of Fillmore's case grammar.

1. We deviate from Chafe's conception of grammar in several ways. Before we discuss some of these divergences, we will give a definition of a semantically-based grammar with the following series of statements:

A SEMANTIC CONFIGURATION is the basic unit of linguistic description,[4] i.e., the terminal of a series of SEMANTIC SPECIFICATION RULES which operate on a semantic root. A semantic root is equivalent to Verb, which is necessarily either ACTION or PROCESS.

CONFIGURATION RULES determine the compatibility of Verb with one or more semantic actants in each semantic configuration. ACTANT is equivalent with Noun, and only a small number of these exist: SOURCE, DATIVE, COMPLEMENT, PATIENT, and possibly a few others.

A semantic configuration is realized phonetically as a SENTENCE. One or more sentences may correspond to a single semantic configuration; and a single sentence may correspond to two or more semantic configurations.

Thus the underlying (deep syntactic) structure of standard transformational theory corresponds to a semantic configuration. Semantic specification rules define what in the standard transformational theory would be the set of semantico-syntactic properties of individual lexical items immediately following their insertion into appropriate slots in a syntactic string and before the application of pertinent transformational and phonological rules.[4]

2. The semantic specification rules and the semantic configuration rules constitute the semantic structure rules. While both Chafe and we posit the semantic prime V (verb) as the starting point of the semantic structure rules, our further specifications of V differ in two significant respects.

2.1. Chafe posits state as one of four basic kinds of verbs, while we propose that state is derived from process. More precisely our rules derive state from process through the application of a resultative rule to process. For example, the stative verb "tall" is the resultative state of the process verb "tall" which in English happens not to have a synthetic (non-periphrastic) realization. Likewise, the state verb "wide" is the resultative state of the process verb which in English has the realization "widen," and the state verb "tired" is the resultative state of the process verb which in English has the realization "tire." We note that morphological derivation in English (and other languages) does not necessarily reflect the direction of this presumed semantic derivation.

The first semantic rule of Chafe's grammar (rule S9-1) specifies that verbs are either state or non-state. State verbs are such verbs as dry, tight, broken, dead.

State verbs can become process verbs by means of an inchoative derivation (rule S11-3). Thus "opened" (the door opened) derives from "open" (the door is open) and "widened" (the door widened) derives from "wide" (the road is wide).

Process verbs can become state verbs by means of a resultative derivation (rule S11-5). Thus "broken" (the dish is broken) derives from "break" (the dish broke).

Finally, state verbs can become process verbs by means of a "become" derivation (rule S11-13). Thus "become wider" (the road became wider) derives from "wide" (the road is wide) and the two sentences

*As presented in Chafe, Wallace L., Meaning and the Structure of Language (Chicago, 1970).

1. The road widened.

2. The road became wider.

have two different meanings and two different semantic structures.

Our grammar does not, however, recognize a difference between "inchoative" and "become," and a rule of inchoative (i.e. begin to) derivation, present elsewhere in the grammar, applies optionally to all process and action verbs, but is incompatible with state.

2.2. Chafe also posits process-action as one of four basic kinds of verb roots to distinguish sentences of the type

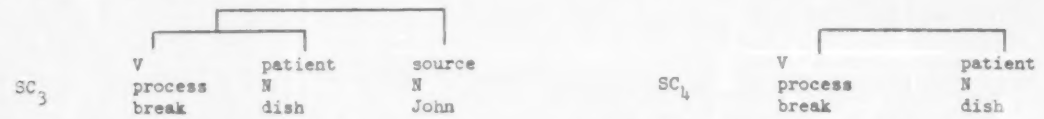
3. John breaks the dish.

in which the verb is process-action, from sentences of the type

4. The dish breaks.

in which the verb is process.

While we realize that the semantic configurations which underlie these two sentences are different, and that the difference consists in the absence of any source noun in sentence 4, as diagrammed here (SC = semantic configuration),



we do not recognize any semantic difference in the verb roots which underlie these two sentences, and assign the semantic specification process to a single verb root "break."

We point out that the actant closest to the verb in both sentences 3 and 4 is the patient noun, and in fact the presence of source is contingent upon the presence of patient, so that a semantic configuration including $\overset{V}{\underset{break}{}}$ and $\overset{source}{\underset{N}{}}$ without $\overset{patient}{\underset{N}{}}$ is excluded from the output of the grammar. Predictably in surface structure the string *John broke is a non-sentence.

3. In the rules that follow we adopt Chafe's formalism: a broken shaft signifies optional application, a double arrow signifies further specification (X is further specified as Y, or $\overset{X}{\underset{Y}{}}$); and a single arrow signifies either a configuration rule (X has the configuration $\overset{X}{\underset{}{\ulcorner}}\ \ YZ$), or a derivational rule (X becomes Y).

We replace Chafe's first semantic structure rule with the rule

1. $V \longrightarrow\!\!\!\!\rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} process \\ action \end{Bmatrix}$

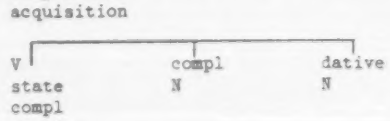
stating that a verb is further specified as either process or action. We omit the further optional specification of process and action verbs as ambient from this part of the grammar, and suggest that it comes later in the grammar. Such a rule will eventually account for surface structures like "it rains, it's windy, it's cold," etc.

Our next rule,

2. $\overset{V}{\underset{process}{}} \longrightarrow\!\!\!\!\rightarrow$ complement

specifies by convention (a) V process complement (b) V process -complement

The specification of (a) V process complement through the application of appropriate rules will eventually yield a matrix V state complement acquisition to account for surface structures such as She has a book. with the semantic configuration



We use the label complement as Chafe does: in this particular surface structure "a book" is the necessary complement of "has." We introduce the label dative, the other obligatory constituent of this semantic configuration (the surface "she"), and we posit ex novo a specification acquisitional to distinguish the set of V's to which "have" belongs from other derived state verbs. The graphic representation of this configuration reflects the non-contingency of dative upon complement.

Process verbs which are specified -complement are optionally further specified as causative by means of the rule

3. V, process, -compl ⟶⟶ causative

which specifies (a) V, process, -compl, causat (b) V, process, -compl, -causat

The specification (b) obtained through the application of rule 3 undergoes a further optional resultative specification

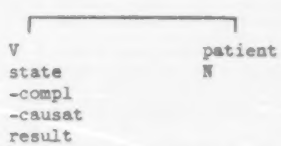
4. V, process, -compl, -causat ⟶⟶ resultative

which in turn specifies (a) V, process, -compl, -causat, result (b) V, process, -compl, -causat, -result

A verb specified as in matrix (a), that is a resultative process verb necessarily becomes state by means of the derivation described in the following rule:

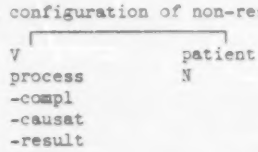
5. V, process, -compl, -causat, result ⟶ V, state, -compl, -causat, result

The semantic configuration of this derived state verb is



which accounts for surface structures such as "the food is hot, the dish is broken," etc.

The configuration of non-resultative process verbs is parallel to its counterpart for relative state verbs:



and accounts for surface structures such as "the food heats, the dish breaks," etc. We use patient in these last two configurations in the same way that Chafe does.

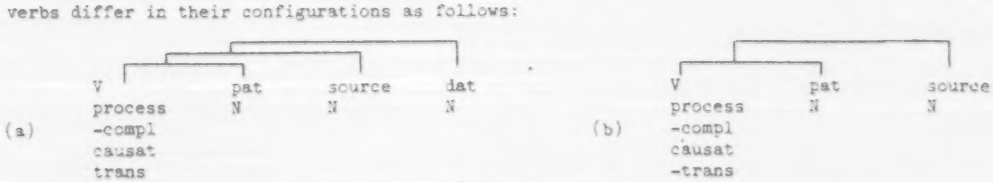
A verb specified as in matrix (a) resulting from rule 3 undergoes a further optional transitive specification:

6. V, process, -compl, causat ⟶⟶ transitive

The application of this rule yields two verbs specified as follows:

(a) V, process, -compl, causat, trans (b) V, process, -compl, causat, -trans

These two verbs differ in their configurations as follows:



A transitive specification (not found in Chafe) introduces dative in the configuration (a), and source in configurations (a) and (b). Our source includes Chafe's agent.

Two further specification rules

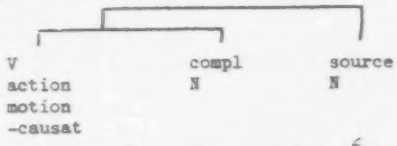
7. V, action ——→→ motion

8. V, action ——→→ causative

if applied in order, will yield six matrices:

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
V	V	V	V	V	V
action	action	action	action	action	action
motion	-motion	motion	motion	-motion	-motion
		causat	-causat	causat	-causat

The specification matrix (d) has the following semantic configuration:



which accounts for surface structures such as "she runs to school."[6]

The causative motion verb specified as in (c) undergoes, along with all other action verbs, an optional transitive specification which allows a dative N to participate in its semantic configuration. A non-causative motion verb, however, obligatorily becomes non-transitive.

We do not pursue further our specification, configuration and derivational rules because we are unable to account for the causative specification to our satisfaction. We note that the function of causative is similar to that of resultative, but that whereas process plus resultative yields a derived state verb, action plus causative yields no derived verb parallel to state. Whereas the process verb "heat" plus the resultative specification yields the state verb "be hot" necessarily accompanied by a patient, the action verb "sing" necessarily accompanied by a source plus the causative specification yields the complex verb "cause to sing" whose configuration must include two sources, that which necessarily accompanies action, and that which we expect to accompany causative. But if we derive action from process (such a derivation would add a source to a process), then it is possible to introduce causative in the grammar as a transformation which applies post-semantically.[7]

3.1. We conclude the discussion of our rules with a general comment on the formalism we have chosen, and several specific observations of theoretical consequence.

In our formalism configuration rules and derivational rules are not distinguished, yet they perform two quite different functions. Is this a flaw in the grammar, or would a formal distinction of the two types of rule be redundancy?[8] While at this time we are not prepared to discuss this question, we can concentrate on the peculiar characteristics and properties of specification rules, and on the relevance that specification rules have with respect to the formulation of semantic primes.

First, we note that derivational rules are a priori excluded from having the property of defining semantic primes, for the very reason that a "derived prime" is a contradiction in terms.

Second, we note that by virtue of the same criterion which disqualifies derivational rules as definers of semantic primes, likewise all specification rules which apply to derived entities are not definers of semantic primes as well.

Third, we note that, by elimination, we can define all semantic specification rules which apply to non-derived items as definers of semantic primes. A corollary of this observation is that a set of ordered specification rules would rank semantic primes, while an unordered set would not.

Fourth, we note that, in this formal framework, the identification of certain semantic features as "prime" and others as "derived" hinges upon our arbitrary decision that a semantic root is equivalent to verb.

Fifth, we note that the definition of verb as necessarily either process or action (rule 1) is as arbitrary as the identification of semantic root with verb. Would it not be possible, as we have already suggested, to posit action as derived from process? What would it mean to build a theory of grammar on the notion that all roots are basically process? Would there be a nexus between a grammar so conceived and our conceptualized universe?[9]

Finally, we note that the identification of semantic root with verb begs the question of the status of noun. In our definition of the grammar we referred to nouns vaguely as semantic actants. In fact, is it not possible to conceive of nouns as derived from verbs?[10]

3.2. Basic to TG grammar is the notion that every deep structure sentence contains a Noun Phrase and a Verb Phrase. Although transformations may apply to this underlying string to delete, add, or rearrange some of its parts, a sentence (the basic unit of linguistic description) rewrites as (⟶) NP + VP. The base component of a TG grammar (PS rules) describes the form of sentences, the grammatical categories which are then matched by appropriate lexical items. The semantic component of the grammar interprets the sentence after the lexical insertion. The TG grammar so conceived, and consisting also of a phonological component, is not a production model.

By contrast, generative semantics broadly defined concentrates on the search for semantic primes and their combination into meaningful linguistic units. The description of the form of surface strings is secondary to the postulation of underlying semantic structures.[11]

TGers correctly point out that their grammars are not production models. On the other hand, generative semanticists of Chafe's conviction are striving to formulate a grammar that reflects the mental processes which precede discourse (language). This is how we interpret Chafe's comments on his grammar. He is not convinced that "the initial formation of a semantic structure is described most appropriately . . . in terms . . . of ordered rules." He then does not "[take seriously the] alternative . . . that the process by which a semantic structure is formed bears some relation to linguistic 'performance'," but concludes that "it is not unlikely that a different model might ultimately be preferred" (pp. 350-1). Why? What other reason might there be to prefer a different model, except to require that it approach more a performance model? Isn't this why Chafe discusses language origin and our "conceptualized universe"? The semantic structure of language, Chafe seems to say, must reflect our conceptualized universe, and recapitulate its origins. If we interpret Chafe correctly, and if we accept his position, we can say that language reflects the culture of the group who speaks it (culture is the collective "perceptualized reality" of the group); but, if we probe deeper we will probably find that languages are but variations of a universal semantic base, reaching a position of language universalism (thought ⟶ language).

We conclude by recapitulating Chafe's and our speculations about the coneptualized universe which underlies a grammar. Whereas Chafe considers <u>state</u> the most basic of semantic specifications (Rule 39-1), followed by <u>process</u>, <u>action</u>, and <u>process-action</u>, and he is also willing to venture that ". . . nouns might represent an earlier evolutionary stage than verbs" (p. 350), by contrast, our semantic specification rules generate first <u>process</u> and then <u>action</u>,[12] and we also venture to speculate that <u>verb</u> underlies <u>noun</u>.

Notes

[1]This paper is the result of a project of an undergraduate Semantics class taught by Anthony Mattina at the University of Montana (Winter quarter, 1977). Collaborators with the principal author are Gary Dilley, Cathy Jordan, Susan Lawson, Herb Luthin, Mark Osteen, Anita Otten, and Robert Sheppard.

[2]We are surprised to see that Liefrink's <u>Semantico-Syntax</u> (London: Longman, 1973) does not include in its bibliography Wallace L. Chafe, <u>Meaning and the Structure of Language</u> (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970), and even more surprised that Janet D. Fodor's <u>Semantics: Theories of Meaning in Generative Grammar</u> (New York: Crowell, 1977) does not include either Chafe or Liefrink's work in its bibliography.

[3]Both Chafe and we agree that a larger unit is the appropriate basis for linguistic description, but for the moment succumb to this more manageable fiction.

[4]In our scheme a complete semantic specification matrix <u>defines</u> a lexical item. Except in cases of true synonymy, each complete semantic specification matrix defines only one word in a given language. Chafe raises the related interesting question that ". . . a language contains many semantic units which function both as lexical units and as selectional units; to put it another way, much of the lexical inventory of a language is hierarchically or taxonomically organized. Units which have this dual function might be labelled classificatory units. . . . Sing, for example, may be more narrowly specified as chant, croon, and so forth" (p. 118).

[5]Chafe insists that "become" and "inchoative" differ in their respective range of applicability. "While <u>inchoative</u> can be added perhaps only to underived states, <u>become</u> can be regarded as a kind of outer layer of derivation which can be added with relative freedom to both simple and derived state" (p. 138).

[6]This formalism implies that a complement accompanies all motion verbs and surface structures like <u>She runs.</u> would have deleted a motion complement.

[7]We do not know how many other "specifications" would apply post-semantically, or elsewhere in the grammar.

[8]Is this situation analogous to phonology, where the formalism does not distinguish allophonic from morphophonemic rules?

[9]The notion of how speakers of language conceptualize their universe has long intrigued linguists. Harry Hoijer notes that in Navajo "even the neuter category is relatable to the dominant conception of a universe in motion. . . . The Navajo define position as a resultant of the withdrawal of motion." ["Cultural Implications of Some Navajo Linguistic Categories," in Language in Culture and Society, ed. Dell Hymes (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 145.] Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson observe that in Clallam (a Salish language) "the universe is viewed as autonomous and dynamic. Entities--persons and things--are part of the general scheme, but are incidentally responsible for situations which arise. The basic predicative force of all full words is a logical part of this organization. An utterance refers to some segment of the overall, constantly changing general picture" ["Clallam: A Preview," in Studies in American Indian Languages, ed. Jesse Sawyer (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971)].

[10]We note at this point that Chafe observes: "It might be . . . that nouns represent an earlier evolutionary stage than verbs" (p. 350).

[11]We should point out that the TGer, who has wanted to rescue mentalism from disrepute and to put behaviorism in its proper place, has ended up concerning himself with form (syntactic categories and functions) rather than with meaning, just as the Bloomfieldian structuralist had.

[12]Or process $\longrightarrow$ action.

TEACHING CULTURE: A FOCUS ON THE SPANISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

Francy S. Milner
Catlin Gabel School

The language classroom all too often seems to be, to the students if not to the teacher, too removed from reality. Spain and Latin America are next door only to those fortunate few who can afford to travel. Granted, the possibility of such future travel is enough reason for some students to memorize vocabulary and practice pattern drills; but what about the other students, those who claim no interest in or assume they will never visit a Spanish-speaking country? Why should they try to master what may well be a difficult subject, unless it be purely to satisfy a requirement?

I believe that we Spanish teachers in the Northwest have overlooked one very strong reason why our students should want to study Spanish: it is the native language of a considerable minority in this region. During the last two years I have tried to familiarize my students with Chicano culture in Oregon, with some of the people who are proud of that culture, and with the agencies designed to assist low-income and minority people. This has involved student visits to outlying communities as well as utilization of speakers, films and special reading material. In this paper I intend to outline specifically how we became informed about the Spanish-speaking community, and how a few of my students became (and are becoming) personally involved in special programs for that community.

The Washington County Community Action Organization in Hillsboro, Oregon was our primary source of information and inspiration. (Incidentally, there are 889 such Community Action Organizations in the United States, financed by the Community Services Administration--formerly O.E.O.--of the Federal Government.[1]) Several speakers visited our classroom to explain the Organization's bicultural and community education programs: a translators' bureau, emergency shelter home, counseling in the areas of welfare, food stamps, discrimination, etc., workshops on bicultural and poverty awareness. The class saw a two-part film made recently on the problems (political, social, economic) and customs (family unity, preparation of food, religious attitudes, etc.) of the Chicano community just outside Portland. Most explanation was in English, but often the dialog was in Spanish.

Last February, during a special week of mini-courses in our school called "Winterim," I took a small group of students to the W.C.C.A.O. in Hillsboro for a more immediate experience with the Spanish-speaking world outside the classroom walls. That morning we visited the Centro Cultural, a Chicano cultural center in Cornelius, where we were shown the film, "Fighting for our Lives," the United Farmworkers' documentary of that union's origin, growth and recent battles in California. Also of interest to the students was the Virginia García Clinic next door, opened in 1975 by the Centro and St. Vincent's Hospital in Portland to provide medical services and a bilingual staff for the low-income and minority people of Washington County.

After lunch in a Mexican restaurant with several elderly Mexican-Americans on the Loaves and Fishes program, my group returned to W.C.C.A.O. where they encountered the Advocate Program. Each student was assigned a role as a member of a migrant family and asked to speak with several counselors about obtaining assistance of various kinds: information on immigration problems, emergency food and shelter, etc. We began the interviews in Spanish, but eventually reverted to English as some of the less advanced students experienced difficulty acting out their given roles in the target language.

In another excursion that same week a group of students and I attended the "Spanish" movies in Woodburn; actually one film was a Mexican western, the other an Argentine passion film--both to the students' great delight. The voices of the children seated behind us ("Mamá, tengo sueño"), as well as the realization that we were the only Anglo-Americans in the theater, impressed my students as much as the opportunity to see a film in Spanish.

Other sources of information about the Spanish-speaking community have been a member of the Board of Trustees for the Colegio César Chávez (which we hope to visit as a part of our Winterim class this February), and a member of a local committee to assist Chilean refugees. Newspaper articles on the Chilean and Chicano problems have been discussed in class; particularly interesting are those articles in the Rural Tribune, a bilingual newsletter printed by the W.C.C.A.O., concerning the local Chicano community.

Simply being informed about the lives of the cultural minority nearby has not been sufficient for several of my Spanish students; some have felt a need to contribute, and take pride in using their language skills to do so. One girl followed the training offered by the translators' bureau of the Community Action Organization and has been on call as a volunteer translator for Spanish speakers who need assistance while visiting a doctor, lawyer, government agency, etc. Another student, a freshman, visited Hillsboro with me weekly for one semester, as a part of her Urban Probe class, to solicit donations for the above-mentioned emergency shelter home. I am presently investigating the possibility of several advanced Spanish students' participation in volunteer tutoring programs in Portland for non-English-speaking adults. Soon the head of a federally funded (Comprehensive Education Training Act)

bilingual training program for adult Chicanos, Cubans, Chileans, etc. will visit my advanced class to explain the methods by which Spanish speakers are tutored in English and are taught to read and write in Spanish. Any students who would like to participate in this program on a volunteer basis will be invited to do so.

There seems to be much enthusiasm for such ventures on the part of students seeking an opportunity to help someone else; using their language skills in tutoring and translating represents involvement in "real life." The importance for learning of the young adult's "need to be needed"[2] is stressed by Charity James in her remarkable book on the education of adolescents: "Of all the recommendations I would make as a result of my year's observations [as a British educator in America], the most urgent is that Americans make a concentrated effort to find ways in which the energy of the young can be made welcome. . . . In my work in American schools, wherever I have seen students able to contribute as adults to community work, to urban renewal, to hospitals, to youth counseling centers, in tutoring situations, in day care, in farmwork, I have observed a glow of well-being, a kind of relief as of a new-found equilibrium, which I have not seen elsewhere."[3]

For those students who do need to make a personal contribution to society, information about the nearby minority culture can open the door to community involvement; for those who simply need a reason for language study, the certainty that Spanish is spoken in the Northwest, as well as in Texas, New York, Argentina, or Spain, can be quite convincing.

Notes

[1] Washington County Community Action Annual Report, 1974-75, 546 E. Baseline, Hillsboro, Oregon 97123.

[2] Charity James, Beyond Customs: An Educator's Journey (New York: Agathon, 1974), p. 21.

[3] James, pp. 22-23.

AUDIO-VISUAL VOCABULARY BUILDING

Magdalena Ladd
Clackamas Community College

Whether a method of second language teaching is specific or eclectic, the fact remains that the student has to have a store of words. It has been suggested by mature students, keenly aware of the learning process involved in second language acquisition, that an "investment" in functional everyday vocabulary at the very start of second language learning may be the key in motivating them to accept the natural lag between "understanding" and "speaking" or--in pedagogical terms--between recognition knowledge and retrieval knowledge.

Valerian A. Postovsky, in his article "Effects of Delay in Oral Practice at the Beginning of Second Language Learning," proposes that ". . . the motor skill involved in production of speech output is an end result of complex and mostly covert processes which constitute linguistic competence,"[1] linguistic competence, which requires two reciprocally correlated events: (1) processing (decoding) auditory input; and (2) generating (encoding) speech output. According to Postovsky, decoding capability requires development of recognition knowledge, while encoding requires retrieval knowledge. He alludes to the processing model on speech production and comprehension by Ervin-Tripp, which involves auditory short-term memory storage and long-term memory information storage.[2] Postovsky suggests development of recognition knowledge, particularly in the early phase of instruction, to be more beneficial to development of retrieval knowledge.

During a brief visit, last summer, to the Defense Language Institute, West Coast Branch (DLIWB), Presidio of Monterey, California, we were introduced to a mode of concrete vocabulary learning that appears to stimulate student motivation and is, at the same time, a variable teaching device. One of these variables is student (as well as teacher) accountability. Audio-visual vocabulary learning involves the eye for quick sound and sight identification; the ear hears correct sound only, without interference from faulty student repetition, and the student is engaged in a competitive activity that has the appearance almost of a game. It can be used for individual or group study.

Picture a visual area (see Materials, below) divided and marked off into four fields. A concrete object appears in one of the four fields, while the accompanying taped voice names the item introduced visually. Each of the first four items is introduced, individually, in consecutively numbered frames; in frame 5 and the subsequent three frames at least two fields may contain two of the previous items, the other two fields can be empty or each contain one item. Beginning with frame 9, an additional four items are introduced, individually, to be repeated in frames 13-16 in pairs in two fields and/or all four fields filled with one of the newly shown items. In subsequent repetitions the pattern many include any of the earlier items of that particular vocabulary section.

The student silently views the vocabulary material and listens to the voice on tape naming the item. At the same time he has a worksheet with numbered frames, divided into four fields, and he marks an X into the field corresponding to the item he hears named and sees.

The idea observed at DLIWB was adapted and expanded to the concrete vocabulary of our first year French and German texts, lesson by lesson. Instead of black and white visuals, however, we use color as well, and we try to utilize culturally "correct" pictures. To some nouns, we have added verbs, or adjectives (das Ohr/hören; der Himmel/blau). A special feature will deal with German prepositions.

The student's worksheet is checked against a master overlay and returned with a percentage and adjective rating, recommending repeat viewing and listening, with a new worksheet, until 100% accuracy is obtained. A later phase of vocabulary building provides the student with a typed and numbered list of the words, by lesson, from the visual. On the right half of the list are the consecutive numbers only. The student is asked to fold the list in half, lengthwise, view the visual and hear the tape again, and to write the word he hears. When he is finished, he compares recall and spelling immediately. This exercise has the effect of a dictée, with association of sound and symbol transferring to other non-concrete words, and accuracy is immediately verified.

Audio-visual vocabulary building lessons and lists are available to the student prior to actual classwork with that lesson. This allows for development of recognition knowledge of the semantic factor of second language learning. Long-term assignments include vocabulary tests (in class), with review and retesting preparation via the audio-visual vocabulary building. A written list is required of as many words per lesson as possible, compiled while viewing and listening. All typed vocabulary lists are withdrawn from the Laboratory, of course, prior to the last assignment, in order to avoid mere copying.

We utilize a number of pieces of equipment: (1) a Singer Caramate for viewing the slides and a Singer Studymate for the filmstrip; (2) a 35 mm half frame, single lens reflex, Olympus-Pen F camera for shooting filmstrip (when preparing the filmstrip we restricted the number of frames to 72, including the title shots, in order to use 36 exposure rolls of film); (3) a 35 mm, single lens reflex, Nikkromat camera for shooting slides; (4) a photo copystand, with lights, for mounting filmstrip and slide

camera on which to place work to be shot; (5) a Bowens Illumitron slide duplicator for producing multiple copies of slides and filmstrips and for changing from one form to another; (6) an Audiotronics synchronizing unit for placing synch signal onto cassette tape; and (7) for the pictures, we use cut-outs from magazines, newspapers, posters, flash-cards, advertisements, flyers--anything that illustrates succinctly. We use foreign language printed materials as much as possible for cultural authenticity, where it is important. We acknowledge the support, suggestions, and the work from our A-V Department; left to ourselves, progress would have been slow.

While we started this new experimental approach to help students learn vocabulary in the fall of 1976--an approach that can be an asset to any method and once prepared by the instructor is usable, we feel, with any text--we can report that our students take to it readily and with enthusiasm. They like the association of eye and ear and claim easier retention of words learned; they appreciate the occasional humor; they comment on the "competitive" aspect of not letting the automatically paced machine "beat" them. Writing, while they listen and watch silently, increases spelling accuracy and the repeated correct sound from the tape, without hesitant or faulty repetition, hammers the picture into the mind.

Notes

[1]Valerian A. Postovsky, "Effects of Delay in Oral Practice at the Beginning of Second Language Learning," The Modern Language Journal, 58 (1974), pp. 229-39.

[2]Susan M. Ervin-Tripp, "Structure and Process in Langu.ge Acquisition," Georgetown University Monograph: 21st Annual Round Table, No. 23, 1970.

A CHECKLIST OF DO'S AND DON'TS FOR MICRO-TEACHING:

SUGGESTIONS FOR APPRENTICE TEACHERS

William H. Bryant
Western Washington State College

Someday in the future, someone may discover how to conduct micro-lessons "without tears," but until that happy day arrives, methodology teachers will just have to make do with their present knowledge of the state-of-the-art. Since micro-teaching is, by its very nature, a heuristic process in which the student is allowed to learn independently, there are also certain basic ground rules which student teachers, in their micro-lesson presentations, should learn through trial and error. These principles seem to divide up naturally into things to do and things not to do in the areas of psychology, pedagogy, and visual presentation. First, the "Don'ts":

PSYCHOLOGY

1. Don't say, either in the target language or in the mother tongue, "Today, we're going to learn . . .," or, "I'm going to teach you how to . . . ." As a motivating technique, this is, if anything, counter-productive. To such openings, many members of a junior-high or high-school class might silently respond: "Oh, yeah? Let's just see you try!" There is already enough natural resistance to learning among some students without our voluntarily courting it.

2. Don't keep saying "O.K.," all the time in English after every sentence spoken or after each point in the lesson has been made. There is probably no speech mannerism or tic more disturbing in a foreign language class, unless it is saying "uh" between each utterance. If each utterance must be punctuated by such self-assuring, summarizing set phrases, at least employ the appropriate corresponding expression from the target language.

3. In micro-teaching, after each point has been made or at the end of the lesson itself, don't bother to ask if there are any questions, especially if the micro-teaching class is composed of students from different languages. Any questions that may occur to your peer critics may be asked and answered afterwards during the critique of your lesson. This is not to say, however, that this may not or should not be done as a teaching strategy in a regular classroom situation.

PEDAGOGY

1. Lesson Content

   a) Don't use a vocabulary load that is too heavy for the structure being taught. Keep it simple. Also, don't present a new word without explaining or demonstrating its meaning. Students should not have to worry about new vocabulary and new structures at the same time.

   b) Don't try to teach too much in one lesson. Four lines of dialogue at one time are quite enough. Also, limit the number of new sounds presented to three or four. Do not attempt to teach more than one verb tense at one time. To attempt more is to invite unnecessary confusion.

2. Technique

   a) Don't play to only one side of the classroom or to only one row, or to only the front of the class, or to only one person. Many students already feel alienated enough in a foreign-language classroom; there is no reason to make them feel even more so. However innocently done, it never fails to show favoritism than which there is nothing worse for class morale.

   b) Don't talk to the blackboard while writing on it. It cannot profit from your teaching. Turn around and face the class when speaking. Otherwise, the words are mumbled and are difficult to understand.

   c) Don't pace up and down the room like a caged tiger. It may be good from the point of view of neck exercise for the students, but it becomes nerve-wracking after a while to watch someone constantly moving back and forth while, at the same time, attempting to concentrate on what the person is saying.

VISUAL PRESENTATION

1. While you are teaching, don't stand in front of work that you have just put up on the blackboard. If what you have written is important enough to be put on the blackboard, then it is important enough for your students to see. Further, you will distract from their concentration on what you are saying by forcing them to wonder what you have written.

2. Don't use a pointer in presenting your lesson. In most cases, it is not nearly as effective as an overhead or opaque projector, with which a pencil may be used to indicate objects in a less obtrusive manner. To some students, a pointer may symbolize the authoritarian schoolmaster style of days gone by. Indeed, to some, it may even represent, however unconsciously, an implement of punishment dating back to their childhood days. All told, it would seem that, with regard to using a pointer, the minuses far outweigh the pluses.

Finally, the "Do's":

PEDAGOGY

1. Conduct the entire micro-lesson in the target language; there is no need to introduce the mother tongue into the lesson. Insofar as the micro-lesson itself is concerned, it would only be a useless distraction from the main task. Although this matter provokes some controversy in Foreign Language Education circles, the student teacher should at least have had this experience in case he should desire later to use this method once he becomes a full-fledged language teacher.

2. Focus your lesson. Don't wander from the subject at hand. Deal with only one subject at a time, dwelling on its essential points until they are understood.

3. Gear your lesson to the appropriate level; namely, don't give a lesson dealing with butterflies, talking mice, or bunny rabbits to high-school students. By the same token, there is no point in giving a lesson on existentialism or on the pluperfect subjunctive to FLES students. Know your clientele well and plan accordingly.

4. Do your correcting with as much warmth, humor, and understanding as possible. Scolding may be done in tones of mock horror or mock anguish. In some cases, they may be more effective than straightforward admonition. In this regard, it would seem advisable that all students and teachers know, or be provided a list of, the more common expletives and interjections of the target language, which they should be encouraged by the teacher trainer to use freely. If utilized properly and in moderation, these utterances can add an extra measure of genuineness and authenticity to a conversation or to a presentation. Obviously, some expletives are more appropriate for classroom use than others.

5. Teach the appropriate body language used by speakers of the target language; e.g., shrugs of the shoulder, facial expressions, ways of holding eating utensils, table manners, way of counting on the fingers, ways of holding a cigarette, ways of writing numbers and the letters of the alphabet. All of these things being very much a part of the culture of the target language, they usually add a great deal of interest to a lesson.

6. Settle on a mode of address for use with students or peer critics--and stick to it. Call them either: 1) Monsieur, Mademoiselle, or Madame; Herr, Fräulein, Frau; Señor, Señorita, Señora; or 2) by their real first name or nickname; or 3) by their target-language first name which they have chosen or which you have assigned to them. Nothing is more disconcerting than to have the teacher address some students as "Pepe" or "Estrellita," others as "Señor Jones" or "Señorita Smith," and still others as "Johnny" or "Betty." Whatever the choice, be consistent.

7. Make up your mind about which pronunciation to teach. Shall it be, as in the case of French, Parisian or that which is spoken in Marseille and Toulon? Shall it be the Swiss variety, or that spoken by the Belgians, or that spoken by the Algerians? Shall it be Québécois? The general problem raised here concerns, of course, not only the pronunciation of allophones and/or letters of the alphabet but also the total intonation contour. All linguistic imperialism to the contrary, it would seem to make little difference, in the long run, which accent you choose. The really important thing is to be consistent in your application of it.

8. In presenting dialogues and pronunciation drills, circulate around the classroom while listening to each student's pronunciation. If you merely stand in front of the class while giving the lesson, the poor unfortunates on both sides of the class and in the back of the room won't be able to hear you well--a grossly unfair and unnecessary disadvantage for them. Remember: most of your class does not sit in the first two rows.

VISUAL PRESENTATION

1. Write clearly on the blackboard with letters large enough so that the students in the back row can see what you want them to see. In this connection, also bear down on the chalk with enough pressure to make the chalk stroke as visible as possible. Nothing is more upsetting than trying to espy and decipher small, faintly-written handwriting.

2. Similarly, make all drawings, designs, and other visuals very large and very clear, whether you draw them on poster board or on the blackboard, so that the students or peer critics in the back row can see them clearly and without difficulty. If you are using stick figures in your drawings, make them either completely abstract (lines and circles), that is with no distinguishing features at all, or else add a lot of descriptive detail. Otherwise, you run the risk of their looking like Walt Disney's early

Mickey Mouse and haveing a cartoon-like look about them that may appear too puerile for the tastes of high school students.

3. Demarcate clearly all grammatical categories written on the blackboard, preferably with a single underline to set apart the grammatical or structural point or the phonetic drawing from the items which illustrate or exemplify it. If this is not done as a matter of course, much confusion on the students' part can result from simply not knowing where things begin and where they end. In particular, a verb in the infinitive form written on the blackboard or drawn on poster board should, in order to avoid confusion, always be demarcated and distinguished from its paradigmatic members written below it.

Since most "How-to" books on pedagogy, including those in the field of foreign-language teaching, fail to mention very many practical recommendations, it would not seem out of place to suggest that the teacher of methodology present his or her students with some sort of culminating recommendations list such as this which could serve as a summary of principles for the novice and as a basis for further discussion. Naturally, this would not, in and of itself, guarantee full compliance with all of the recommendations, but this sort of guideline of elementary "Do's" and "Don'ts" of micro-teaching could act as an orientation device helping to improve initial confidence and performance levels.

TALKING TO STUDENTS and VOICI LES PREVISIONS DE LA METEO:
AN EXPERIMENT IN USING THE RADIO AS AN AUXILIARY IN THE LANGUAGE LAB
TWO PRESENTATIONS

I. Sawyer
Simon Fraser University

1. Talking to Students

Today's students seem to prefer, and rightly, a one-to-one teaching situation. I have read with interest and admiration of many experiments in individualization of instruction without finding anything that I could possibly implement in my courses. The reason is simple logistics: too many students, too few language assistants, no more money. Let me suggest to others in this situation a technique which works, which costs nothing, which students like, and which even saves time.

In first-year French courses our students are taught in small classes by language assistants with whom they have a real relationship, sometimes a love-hate one, but at least it is real. Only in their second year do they tend to get lost in the crowd. Now, one of the most important contacts we have with them at this level is the correction of their compositions. I noticed that it made for a good relationship if I saw each student at least once a semester to discuss his essays with him. Why not talk to him each week about his writing, but do it on tape?

At the beginning of a third-semester composition course I assigned to each student a fifteen-minute cassette which was kept in the tape library. I took home a tape-recorder, a remote-control hand microphone (very useful), the cassettes, and a set of essays. At this level, essays are short, five hundred words, on simple topics, and each with an essay plan. I went through each paper putting pencilled tick in the margin for each grammatical or spelling correction to be made, and a wavy line for each correction of content or organization. Before starting to record the corrections, I noted errors, checked the references to grammar or dictionary I wanted to make, and gave the paper a tentative grade. A good paper, good both in content and form, might take only two minutes recording time, a really bad one eight to ten minutes.

The essays were returned to the students without a grade and with only the pencil marks in the margin. The student listened to his cassette, marked on his original the corrections to be made, rewrote the essay and returned both the original and the corrigé. (If there were very few corrections I did not insist on the whole paper being recopied. To my surprise few students availed themselves of this possibility.) The second reading was a matter of a minute or two, since I checked only the points indicated for correction. Mistakes in the corrigés--and they were rare--were now marked in red ink and the final grade added. In fact I made few alterations to the tentative grade and only in the case of a major reorganisation of an essay or particularly intelligent or unintelligent corrections. However, the students did not know that and were motivated to make careful corrections.

What were the advantages and the disadvantages of this method? For the first one or two essays I felt that I was spending more time than I had before, but soon realized that there was a new technique of marking to be learned and that this was causing the delay. By the end of the semester, when I had adopted a style that seemed to work, I was spending less time than when I marked with red ink.

One might ask how different oral correction can be from written. For some points there is not the slightest difference and for these the method has no advantage whatsoever. In French at least, if a noun is not masculine it is feminine, so that signalling a mistake in gender gives at the same time the correction. But if a verb tense is not right, the correction may not be evident at once. In writing one can signal "tense" and let the student look it up. Speaking, one can say "Don't you remember we studied the rules for conditions last week? Look at page __ of your grammar." When a student has misused his dictionary, one can write in the correct expression, or, better, signal that he should go back to his dictionary and try again. But one can say: "You use the word 'coquille' for some shellfish, Coquilles Saint-Jacques, for example, for eggs, sometimes for nuts. Look up a good dictionary to see what you should use for a tortoise." To write all this takes too long; to say it is quick and easy.

I soon became aware of the protection afforded by a red pen. I would score out an expression without feeling called upon to explain why it wouldn't do. The persevering student who comes to ask why finds us sometimes without much of an answer except maybe "C'est comme ça." With the ease of communication afforded by the cassette I felt that it was cheating to skate around the problem and found myself making much use of a dictionary of synonyms to show which contexts require which expressions. This added a new challenge to correcting and I began to build up a repertory of illustrative examples that I shall be able to use in future corrections.

Questions of essay organization are much easier to handle verbally. This part of written corrections is the most demanding since it entails showing the logic or illogic of various orderings. On tape one can quickly summarize the content of a paragraph and show where it belongs, and one can easily criticize the relation between plan and composition, if, as often, they do not match.

I found, too, that I could easily relate each essay to the body of the student's work. We rarely have time to write anything but very general comments about improvement, or lack of it, in students' handling of the language. If one notes down particular weaknesses each time, it is easy to say: "I see you have remembered to use the subjunctive here"; or "You made exactly the same mistake last time. Look it up again and if you don't understand, come and see me." Here the personalization of the comment is a feature to which students respond well. A comment on a student's improvement, if it can be made honestly, can be a real encouragement. Of course, this can be done in writing too--and it is one place where students always seem to be able to read one's writing--but I was less inclined to take time for such extra comments when they had to be written.

In what language should these corrections be made? Since all parts of our courses are taught in French, they are made in French. Possibly, where students write essays in their first semester, it might be wise to use the native language to begin with, but by the third semester the use of the foreign language poses no real problem. I sometimes saw on a first copy a wildly approximate spelling of what I had said, ringed with question marks. But either the dictionary or the grammar to which I had referred the writer had cleared up the mystery, for the corrigé was invariably correct. In any case, it is easy to see that the extra comprehension exercise involved in listening to corrections in the foreign language is useful to students.

What might well have appeared to students as a disadvantage, namely the need to hand in a corrected version, was not so seen by twenty-six of the thirty students with whom I worked. The other four said the corrections took too much time. (Two said frankly they were lazy.) For the purposes of the experi I had two essays marked by a language assistant with the corrections written in and the final grade given on the first copy. Not one student preferred this method--not even the four who objected to the corrections and seem rather illogical as well as lazy. The positive comments ranged from approval to enthusiasm. A few suggested that it must be very time-consuming for the teacher. As I have pointed out, the method was quicker than the traditional one, but I have never before had this kind of sympathetic comment for written corrections, although they are time-consuming. Some students made the point that they had only glanced once at the two essays which came graded and corrected and had learned nothing from them.

Two points which the students did not make, but which seem important to me are: first, the psychological importance of withholding the grade until the correction had been done; second, when their compositions, which at this level cost them some hours of effort each time, are returned the first time, they are not covered with red ink. Even better, the corrected copy comes back with a tick mark over each mistake which has been corrected. We know how much better positive reinforcement is than its negative counterpart; I think that if any one point influenced the students' perceptions of this kind of marking more than another, it was this.

My own reaction is one hundred percent positive. I will never willingly go back to the old method. I had a reminder of its limitations and frustrations one week when my tape recorder broke down. Never again!

2. Voici les prévisions de la météo: An Experiment in Using the Radio as an Auxiliary in the Language Lab

In spite of its status as one of the two official languages in Canada, it is hard to find authentic use of French in British Columbia. However, the government-sponsored Canadian Broadcasting Company maintains a French-language FM radio station in downtown Vancouver in the interests of bilingualism and the 79,000 British Columbians who list their native language as French.[1]

The problem in using this resource as lab material is the great difficulty for students in their first semester, with only some secondary school French, in understanding the spoken language at normal speed, with all the reduction of signals imposed by radio wave frequencies. Clearly what is needed is a program with a limited vocabulary and a rigid format. I hesitated between the sports news and the weather. The former was broadcast from eastern Canada, making the recordings less clear than locally produced reports; furthermore, it would not strike a chord in all my students.

That left the local weather report. Its basic vocabulary is very familiar to students in their native language, and the fact that they are listening to last week's weather is hardly noticeable in B.C. where one can run the gamut of the season's weather in a week, from rain to sun and back again. The local report also has the advantage of using familiar place names which tend to reassure the student that he is understanding something.[2] And, finally, the student who wants to check progress can do so at home, morning, noon, or night. To precede the weather report--usually only one minute long--I took one local news item, for, like the weather, local news tends to have familiar names and places, and again these recordings were clearer than those of the national news.

When the students went to the lab they found half a dozen machines pre-programmed with these bulletins. For the first session, after their regular program of drills, they picked up a complete transcript of the bulletins with all unfamiliar terms glossed, and listened, spending as much or as little time as they wished with the tape. For subsequent programs, words and phrases which had already

appeared were omitted, leaving the format of a spot dictée, which became progressively more challenging. Initially I had planned to correct the dictées in class, but I found the students so impatient to check their interpretation that I pinned up the complete transcript for immediate consultation.

I gave four tests in the thirteen-week semester, partly to persuade the students that the comprehension program was just an added frill, partly to find out how the program was working. Too idealistically, I began by using for the test a genuine bulletin played from the console, with inserted pauses for the phrases to be filled in.[3] This was a mistake. The preparation of the tape was time-consuming and the result unsatisfactory. There were two solutions: to make up a bulletin with familiar expressions and record it with pauses, or to leave ten minutes at the end of a lab test, during which students could work on a pre-recorded tape, listening as often as they wished and stopping their machine to write. I found the second more satisfactory as it reproduced exactly the conditions of the normal lab program.

The weather report from the first test, that is, after only four weeks of the program, is printed in the appendix along with an analysis of the errors. The errors which do not involve audition (Group A) and those which incolve audition but not sentence structure (Group B) would be understood as soon as the student consulted the corrigé. However, the errors in Group C--audition and sentence structure--would not necessarily be cleared up by seeing the corrigé. The student is "hearing" what he expects to hear and until his expectancy is changed he is not likely to "hear" better. There is nothing unexpected here: it is a reminder that dictées are lessons in the application of known rules of orthography and grammar to the interpretation of what is heard. If I cite the analysis of errors it is because it taught me the futility of trying to devise a wholly self-correcting project. Some explanations are called in order.

Two evaluations of the program were available at the end of the semester: the students' own comments in an end-of-term questionnaire and the lab attendance figures. Of the seventy-five questionnaires, seven students protested at having to do any kind of lab work, and in particular a program which was so regularly tested. The other responses ranged from favorable to enthusiastic. Several found these tapes both the most difficult and most interesting part of the course. The majority commented on the relevance of this part of the program to their own purposes in taking French courses. More conclusive to me were the lab attendance figures. For the first time in my experience, attendance never fell below 85% of the course membership; on one occasion we had more than 100%, which means that some had gone back for a second hour.

Two things impressed me in the course of the experiment: the students' interest in checking their dictées, and their appreciation of the injection of actuality into their course. This was "real" French from outside the classroom and they were willing to work at it.

A revised version of the program will introduce gradually the unedited recording. Students will hear first a presentation at reduced speed of the introductory and sign-off formulas, an introduction to frequently-used vocabulary, the compass points, types of weather patterns, word groups--pluie, pluvieux, nuage, nuageux, soleil, ensoleillé for example. They will do pronunciation drills based on frequently-mentioned place names. By facilitating in this way their entry into the program, I hope to take the students in one semester to a point where they can fully understand the weather report on radio or TV in French.

Notes

[1]French-language television has recently been made available in this area. It will permit an even better reinforcement of the program described in this paper.

[2]Where references to local geography are lacking anyway, for example where there is no local broadcasting, the sports news would be a good choice for groups with a good mix of male and female students.

[3]The first test, shown in the appendix, was of this form.

Appendix

The phrases underlined are those the students were asked to fill in to complete the text.

"Voici maintenant les prévisions du temps pour les régions desservies par notre antenne.

La pluie qui s'abat sur le nord de la province et les Iles de la Reine Charlotte depuis hier soir se déplace le long de la côte vers le sud, tandis que les bourrasques de vent augmentent dans les

régions les plus exposées. La perturbation diminuera en se déplaçant vers l'intérieur des terres aujourd'hui, mais on peut s'attendre à de la pluie et de la neige mouillante. Dans le centre de la province il y a des nuages dans la plupart des régions. On prévoit donc pour aujourd'hui un temps nuageux avec des averses dispersées et des bourrasques de vent. Minimum entre trente-cinq et quarante, maximum cinquante.

C'était un résumé des nouvelles provinciales et locales. Au microphone, Serge Arsenault."

Analysis of errors: 13, some committed by one student only, others by several.

Group A: Errors not involving audition: 5

1. Ignorance of verb form: on prévoie (for on prévoit);
2. Ignorance of gender: desservis (desservies), exposés (exposées), dispersés (dispersées). Since the plural agreement was made but not the feminine, these errors are only in gender;
3. Ignorance of spelling rules: disperses (dispersées). Conceivably this might be an error in audition, but as it was made by only one out of eighty students, it is more likely to be ignorance or carelessness.

Group B: Errors involving audition but not structure: 3

1. Error in gender: la nord (le nord);
2. Substitution of a grammatically possible form: la région la plus exposée, les régions plus exposées (les régions les plus exposées).

Group C: Errors involving both audition and structure: 5

1. en les pluparts, en la plupart (dans la plupart);
2. en prévoit (on prévoit);
3. avec les averses (avec des averses);
4. s'attendre à la pluie et de la neige (à de la pluie et de la neige).

PSYCHOMETRIC CONSIDERATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS

Vincent Doyle
Center for Applied Linguistics

Facilitating the academic growth of individual learners through development of basic language skills was one of the more humanistically-oriented educational goals. It is now legally mandated, courtesy of the Lau v Nichols decision.[1] The implication was that students with language deficiencies were readily identifiable, as were the areas where remediation would be necessary. In short, reliable and objective assessment could be made. This article proposes a process model for applying basic statistical techniques for improving the development of language assessment instruments.

The Model

The proposed model consists of a series of six integrated, objective components which interlace development activities with the reasons for testing. Successful completion of objectives in one component is deemed a prerequisite for tackling a subsequent component. The decision to recycle to a prior component is made when results are disjoint with pre-defined goals. The six components, flowcharted in Figure One at the end of this presentation, are: (1) creation of an instrument blueprint; (2) item generation; (3) field-testing of the instrument, and all items; (4) analysis of data; (5) selection and revision of items; and (6) establishment of validity: concurrent and predictive.

BLUEPRINT. The test blueprint delineates all the specifications for the development effort: the rationale for testing, content to be examined, assessment methodology to be employed, measurement parameters, and test administration and scoring procedures. Results obtained in later components are evaluated in terms of these blueprint particulars.

In part one the researchers state their objectives for measurement, i.e., what their instrument is intended to accomplish. The purposes need exemplify sound theoretical constructs in the domains of linguistics, psychology, education, and learning theory. Also mandatory are the distinctions the instrument must make between types of responders.

In step two test objectives are translated into content manifestations. Subject matter must exhibit appropriate age and difficulty levels. Items must represent the universe of subject matter content.

Considerations of total instrument length and time limit are appraised next. Length should accomodate the human capabilities of the potential examinees (to avoid a fatigue factor, as one example). Total instrument length also contains implications for reliability. Time limits for answering items should coincide with whether speed or response or consideration of all items (by each respondent) is paramount.

The blueprint also enumerates the assessment methodology and item types. Assessment may be aural, oral, written, or a combination. Items can include multiple choice, true-false, short answer, free-form response, etc.

The percentage of respondents passing the items should represent that area of the performance spectrum in which distinctions between examinees will be drawn. A broad sampling of item difficulty levels permits assessment of wider range of respondents' competence. However, where the majority of items focus on a narrower difficulty range, more precise discriminations are possible due to a greater intensity of measurement.

Specification of test administration and scoring procedures comprise the final blueprint element. Clarity and conciseness of instructions are necessities.

Test administration should evoke an accurate portrayal of respondents' competencies. Scoring requires objectivity, and explicit examples of acceptable performance (and non-performance) are advisable.

ITEM GENERATION. The second component, item generation, draws upon the test developers' writing skills and objectivity. Effective items are culturally inoffensive and unbiased to respondents. Effective items are representative of the theoretical construct being investigated. Complex relationships between item and construct produce uncertainty as to what is being measured.

Interest level and relevancy of items to the respondent population are further considerations. Prerequisite skills should not exceed normal age level expectations. Item stimulus and response mode are critical decisions that can either free or inhibit examinees.

FIELD TESTING. The field testing should expose weaknesses and oversights in the test blueprint and item generation procedures. Recycling from field-test to earlier components is expected, especially in the earlier phases of development. An initial try-out is conducted on a small, representative sample (of 30-50 examinees). Simple statistics (such as item difficulty level, efficiente of distractors, and

frequency distributions) are computed for each item. Recycling is in order if results are disjoint with blueprint specifications.

When small-sample results exhibit considerable congruence to expectations (i.e., the blueprint), a large scale field-testing is undertaken. Categorical representation of geographical regions, educational levels, population density groups (urban, suburban, rural), ethnic, racial, economic, and sex groupings is made. Stratified random sampling is employed, unless variance components from earlier tryouts are known. In these instances optimization techniques utilizing sub-sample variance estimates are more appropriate.

The testing situation should be uniform. Reports from the examiners on problems or difficulties encountered during testing provide viable feedback. Some students should be interviewed to obtain information regarding clarity of instructions and reasons for selecting certain responses.

ANALYSIS. At least three statistical conventions are necessary to complete an analytic component of instrument development: the item difficulty index, reliability computations, and the item discrimination index.

Item difficulty index. The percentage responding correctly to the item (i.e., difficulty index), and the number choosing each alternative (with multiple-choice tests) provide valuable information especially on initial item tryouts. These figures can be meaningfully tabularized in a frequency distribution (see Figure 2).

The item appears to separate respondents at the 70% level (on the criterion score). Alternative a is more attractive to the proficient responders, while distractor c is selected by those scoring lower. When too large, or too small a percentage respond correctly, an item requires revision or exclusion. If problems can be traced to one distractor (i.e., selected by too many, or almost none of the respondents), then revision is easily made and further testing commenced.

Ideally, the criterion score used in analyzing items is an independent measure. Most often, however, it is the total score on the instrument itself. Weaknesses of individual items are outweighed by the preponderence of good, valid items thereby making the instrument as criterion justifiable.

For large group field-testing difficulty levels are computed for each item. These need to reflect performance indices in the range where discriminations between respondees will be required.

However, percentage scales are not of interval type (i.e., they are not linearly related). When a linear relationship is required, percentage figures are transformed to the standard normal distribution, an interval scale of unit variance.

When multiple-choice items are employed, respondents' guessing may significantly alter item difficulty levels. Providing liberal time limits and attractive alternatives should reduce blind guessing.

Reliability. A desirable characteristic of any instrument is the ability to demonstrate consistency in measurement over a series of individuals. Without reasonably high reliability (.80 and up), the constructs under investigation have only tentatively been measured by the given item sequence.

The first decision on reliability computations is methodological, selecting from among recognized techniques: alternate form, internal consistency, split-half, and test-retest. Methodological technique, however, requires congruence with the format structure of the measurement instrument.

Alternate form is the choice when two truly comparable versions of the instrument exist. Comparability encompasses similar content measured with roughly matching degrees of difficulty, under the same constraints of time and number of items.

Internal consistency is designed for one-form tests, where re-administration of the single instrument would introduce biases (e.g., a "memory" effect over short retest intervals, or a "growth/schooling" effect over extended periods).

Procedures for subdividing the total test into halves (the split-half technique) are chosen somewhat arbitrarily from among the large number of ways for making that subdivision. As reliability is contingent upon test length (to a point), the obtained coefficient is low. Therefore, an adjustment by the Spearman-Brown estimation formula is made. Split-half calculations, thus, yield an estimate of an underestimate.

Test-retest correlates the actual stability of measurement over time. Respondents' performance on examined content is assumed to be static. Test-retest is open to question where an "intervention effect" (or program) is expected to remediate differences over time.

Item Discrimination Index. Identifying items which distinguish between good and poor responders is a correlational matter. Selection of correlational technique relates to the data types of both items and the criterion score. The biserial r is employed when both item and criterion follow the normal

distribution, though the item has been dichotomized. The point-biserial r is preferred when items are true (i.e., natural) dichotomies. A tetrachoric correlation coefficient is appropriate for criterion scores which are dichotomized. Finally, the phi-coefficient is used where both item and criterion are true dichotomies.

A word of caution, item-total correlations are spuriously high, as the item is also part of the total. Formulas are available to adjust for the part-whole overlap, though rarely used when tests exceed 20 items in length.

SELECTION AND REVISION. After the data are analyzed, pre-established criteria are invoked for evaluating the psychometric qualities of items, subtests, and the composite instrument. Instruments failing in reliability are recycled at that point. Typically, many more items are field-tested than are included in the final product. This margin of discard is smaller when concepts have been well-defined (in the blueprint), and items are factual in content and narrow in scope. Also, rigid measurement specifications result in higher rejection rates, though improved instrument quality.

As an example of selection and revision rules, one might desire an item series where difficulty ranges from 50 to 70 percent, with a minimum discrimination index set at .35. Figure 4 presents five hypothetical items tested against these standards.

Of the items, number one was too easy; number four was too difficult for the selected measurement purposes. Item five was of proper difficulty level, but failed to discriminate. All three would require revision. By contrast, items two and three met the criteria and would be deemed acceptable.

VALIDITY. The final component of instrument development entails the establishment of concurrent and predictive validities. Concurrent validity measures the correlation between the instrument being developed and an associated (and supposedly related) criterion outcome. Data are gathered on the instrument and the outcome measure at approximately the same time. The correlation between the two is the measure of concurrent validity.

By contrast, predictive validity explores the instrument's ability to forecast a future outcome. Data are gathered from administering the instrument, and a projection of future performance is made. A predetermined amount of time elapses as respondents proceed in their normal way of life. The criterion measure is then taken at the specified time point and analysis is performed between the projections and the actual outcome. Multiple regression is the statistical technique used.

When an instrument establishes concurrent and predictive validities, a cross-check of results is advisable. Cross-validation requires the replication of the experiment on a new, but comparable set of respondents. Shrinkage in validity coefficients is expected, but repeated experiments should result in stabilization.

Notes

[1]Lau, et al. v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563, 39 L. Ed. 2d1, 94 S.Ct. 786 (1974).

[2]Robert Ebel, Measuring Educational Achievement (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 364.

Figures

Figure 1.—FLOWCHART OF THE INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT PROCESS MODEL

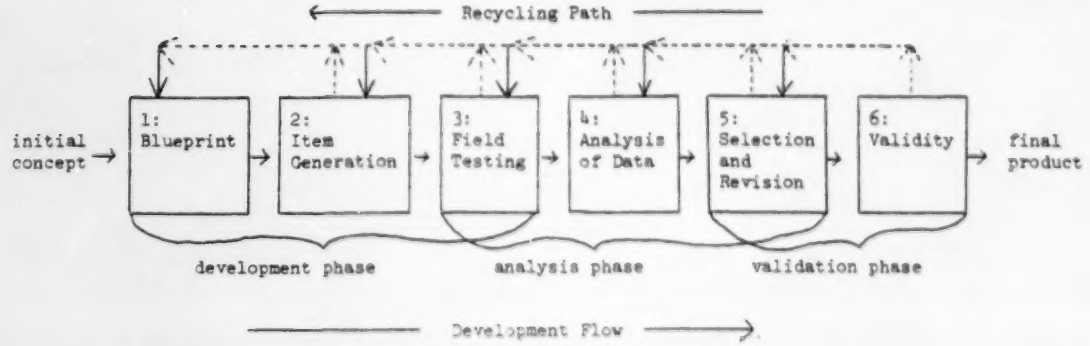


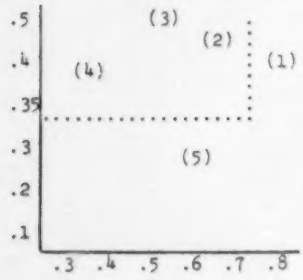
Figure 2.—FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
(assuming item b to be the correct response)

Criterion (Total Score)	Students Selecting Answer a	(b)	c	Whole Distribution
91-100	1	5	0	6
81-90	2	8	1	11
71-80	1	20	3	24
61-70	1	2	1	4
51-60	0	2	2	4
50 and below	0	0	1	1
Totals	5	37	8	50
%	10	74	16	100

Figure 3.—STANDARDS FOR EVALUATING DISCRIMINATION COEFFICIENTS

Discrimination Index	Item Evaluation
.40 and up	Very good item
.30 - .39	Reasonably good item but possibly subject to improvement
.20 - .29	Marginal item, usually needing and being subject to improvement
.19 and below	Poor item, to be rejected or improved by revision[2]

Figure 4.—ITEM DIFFICULTY AND DISCRIMINATION INDICES FOR FIVE RANDOM ITEMS



Item	Indices Difficulty	Discrimination
1	.84	.38
2	.69	.43
3	.52	.50
4	.38	.40
5	.65	.23

UNIVERSITY TRAINING FOR DEVELOPING TEACHER COMPETENCIES IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

George M. Blanco
The University of Texas, Austin

Developing teacher competencies in bilingual education is the subject of current widespread interest in the field of education. Not only has the number of undergraduate training programs increased dramatically in the past three years, but graduate programs in bilingual teacher training have also done so. Despite the over-abundance of teachers, the demand for bilingual classroom teachers is at an all-time high. The Texas Education Agency, for example, estimates that the state currently needs approximately 5,000 additional bilingual education teachers. Teacher-training institutions are being asked to produce bilingual education teachers to meet such needs. The focus of this paper, therefore, is to acquaint you with the efforts of one university to prepare teachers and teacher trainers for bilingual education programs.

The bilingual teacher-preparation program at UT Austin was approved in 1971. Since that time, the program has grown in terms of enrollment, faculty participation, and content. Before getting into the details of the program, let me state briefly the major goals of bilingual education in Texas since these are the goals which the UT Austin program addresses.

The Statewide Design for Bilingual Education, prepared by the Texas Education Agency, states the following:

Primary Goal--The primary goal of bilingual education is successful achievement by the student of the goals of the educational process using two languages, developing proficiency in both, but acknowledging English as the basic language of instruction in all schools and assuring its mastery by all pupils.

Complementary Goals--In order to make progress toward this primary goal, the following complementary goals should be sought: (1) Educational success on the part of the non-English speaking student, through permitting him to learn in his first language while he is learning to function successfully in English; (2) Continued development by the non-English speaking student of his first language as he is learning to function successfully in English; (3) Continued development on the part of the English-speaking student of proficiency in the second language; (4) Increased recognition by the total community (parents, teachers, administrators, students) of the importance of bilingualism and its contributions to better understandings among the peoples of our society.

In trying to implement such goals, one can easily see that the teacher is the key element in the success or failure of a bilingual education program. Indeed, the role of the teacher is so important that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights noted in its publication, Toward Quality Education for Mexican Americans, that "The role of the teacher . . . is of paramount importance. It is the teacher who directs the classroom activities in which students engage for five to six hours a day. It is the teacher who presents the curriculum. And it is the teacher who bears major responsibility for motivating, helping, and evaluating the students. Without effective teachers, the finest facilities, programs, and materials cannot provide high quality education."

Successful completion of the undergraduate program at UT Austin leads to the following: (1) a B.S. Degree in Elementary Education with a Concentration in Bilingual Education; (2) an Elementary Teaching Certificate with a Bilingual Endorsement. While continuing to assist in meeting the demand for bilingual classroom teachers, UT Austin is also building up its graduate program. At the graduate level, UT Austin offers the M.A., M.Ed., and the Ph.D. Degrees with a specialization in bilingual education. The emphasis in all degree programs is on the Mexican American and on bilingual education involving English and Spanish. Thus, the undergraduate degree is strictly for the preparation of teachers; the master's programs prepare the individual for a concentrated study of issues in the curricular and instructional aspects of bilingual education; the doctoral program is geared toward research in bilingual education and on the preparation of trainers of teachers of bilingual education programs. I will stress the undergraduate program. However, information about the graduate program will be described briefly.

Although we are moving toward a competency-based teacher education program, students must still complete a minimum of 126 semester hours for the B.S. Degree in Elementary Education. In terms of course work, the program is comprised of two major elements: Academic Foundations and the Professional Sequence. The Academic Foundations are required of all elementary education majors and include such basics as English, Psychology, U.S. History and Government, Natural Science, etc. The Professional Sequence deals with course work taken both in the College of Education and in other colleges, as well, but all courses are related in one form or another with the teaching profession. In the Professional Sequence the student is exposed to the theory and practice of bilingual education. The Bilingual Teacher-Preparation Program revolves around four major components: (1) the development of attitudes; (2) the development of skills; (3) the acquisition of knowledge; (4) the application of these in a real situation. Rather than simply present a list of courses, I would like to discuss each of these components in terms of the major competencies which students are expected to develop, and in terms of experiences to which they are exposed.

(1) Attitudes--The attitudes students develop deal with the inherent strengths which children bring to school. The bulk of these attitudes is developed during the student's internship in which they spend an entire semester working with teachers and children in a local bilingual education program. To begin with, students are exposed to the notion that all children bring with them intellectual, linguistic, and cultural strengths. They listen to and analyze samples of children's speech in English and in Spanish to determine their phonological, grammatical, and semantic elements. If the students had any preconceived notions of the "incorrectness" of the Mexican-American's language, this aspect of the program increases their awareness of the children's language competence. The code-switching phenomenon is seen, not as a haphazard, flip-flop jargon between English and Spanish which is left to the whim of the speaker, but as a rule-governed behavior that has both a psychological and sociological basis. Rather than advocating a remedial approach to the teaching of the children's language, the future teachers discover that it is much better to expand the children's linguistic competence by basing the instructional program on what they already know.

In the area of culture, the future teachers are led through the process of investigation and observation to discover some major cultural patterns which allow the child to function as a social being. While the child may not know much, if anything at all, about his cultural heritage, he necessarily functions within a specific cultural framework. The future teacher is taught how to proceed to new cultural concepts about our own multicultural society of which the child is a member, and about other Hispanic cultures, especially that of Mexico.

(2) Skills--The second component of the program deals with the development of linguistic and pedagogical skills. As far as language skills are concerned, the program at UT Austin does not make any provisions for developing in the future teacher the basic communicative skills in Spanish. It is assumed that the individual already understands, speaks, reads, and writes Spanish, whether he is a native speaker of this language or not. Additionally, candidates are required a minimum of two upper division Spanish courses in phonetics and applied linguistics. We try to practice what we preach in terms of bilingual teaching. During their junior year, not only are the students assigned to bilingual classrooms in local schools, but some of their education courses are taught either bilingually or completely in Spanish. During their university careers, students are required to take a Spanish proficiency test. In the past, the MLA Spanish Proficiency Exam was used, but it has been discontinued at UT Austin. It was felt that the exam was too literary in nature and its focus was predominantly Peninsular. At the present time, we are using a Spanish proficiency test developed at UT Austin which assesses the candidate's ability to understand, speak, read, and write Spanish.

Although there are a number of pedagogical skills emphasized by the UT Austin program, the following are some of the major ones:

The future teachers should be able to: (1) Develop strategies which help the children to extend their command of their first and second language in listening, speaking, reading, and writing; (2) Plan and develop teaching units or lessons in the various curriculum areas, using the appropriate terminology in Spanish and English; (3) Develop an awareness of how the child's culture can be incorporated into various areas of the curriculum; (4) Develop first and second-language teaching techniques; (5) Utilize classroom management techniques; (6) Work with paraprofessionals; (7) Work effectively with community resources; (8) Develop awareness and skill in the area of assessment of language and basic subject matter. The future teacher should also become familiar with various standardized instruments used in the school; (9) Utilize various teaching techniques in both English and Spanish in the various content areas, specifically: (a) the formulation of performance objectives; (b) inquiry or discovery techniques; (c) the individualizing of instruction; (d) the establishment of training centers; (e) the use of audio-visuals in the bilingual classroom; (f) strategies for the teaching of reading; (g) techniques for the teaching of mathematical skills; (h) planning and executing team teaching; (i) interaction analysis. These, of course, are generic competencies and they are broken down into more specific elements. If this sounds like an enormous amount of information and skill development--it is! But, since the students receive part of their training from the UT faculty and the other from the local school experience, the task becomes feasible.

(3) Knowledge--The acquisition of knowledge is the third component of the program. The Teacher Preparation Program at UT Austin is multidisciplinary and, therefore, students are exposed to information, skills development, and concepts from such fields as Spanish, English, Ethnic Studies, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, Mathematics, Music or Art, Library Science, Physical Education, Speech, and Drama.

One particular aspect of the program which should be mentioned is the six-hour Ethnic Studies requirement. While certain aspects of Mexican-American culture are brought out in the professional education courses, all elementary education students whether bilingual majors or not, are required to take two courses in some aspect of Ethnic Studies. The bilingual education students are required to take at least two courses dealing specifically with the Mexican-American. While the whole bilingual education concentration emphasizes the culturally diverse nature of the Texas public school population, the ethnic studies requirement provides all elementary education majors with information about the culturally and linguistically different segments of U.S. society.

(4) Application--The fourth component of the program is the application of the first three components in a real situation. At least 15 semester hours of course work found in the Professional Sequence are

offered in conjunction with an internship in a local bilingual education program. Thus, during the morning hours, the future teachers are working with children in the classroom and in the afternoon they attend regular university classes. However, these university classes are held at the elementary school building where they are doing their internship. The purpose of this is obvious; students have the opportunity of applying theoretical issues presented in class to a real situation. The future teachers are observed while working with young children and at regular intervals they meet with the university faculty members and their cooperating teachers in a three-way conference.

At the senior level, the future teachers do a semester of student teaching. The junior-year internship emphasizes an experience akin to an apprenticeship: the future teachers proceed through a series of experiences of observation and practice and, later, they provide the children with reinforcement of concepts presented by the teacher. Student teaching, on the other hand, provides the students with more freedom to present initial lessons to the children. When students complete the B.S. Degree, they have had the equivalent of one year working with children in a bilingual program. Thus, when they begin their full-time employment, teaching young children is not a sudden or traumatic experience.

As we mentioned earlier, some of the courses held in conjunction with the junior internship and student teaching are taught either in Spanish or bilingually. By "bilingually" we mean that certain topics are discussed entirely in Spanish or entirely in English. For example, methodology for the teaching of reading in Spanish is obviously taught in Spanish, while English is used as the medium of instruction when the subject of methods for the teaching of English reading are discussed. Our intent is to offer as many courses as possible in Spanish so that the future teachers have an opportunity of expanding their command of the language in situations which are similar to those in which they will eventually work.

As can be seen, the UT Austin Bilingual Teacher-Preparation Program has elements of regular teacher-training programs, but it goes beyond these programs by meeting the needs of a special population. The program has definite elements of a foreign language program, yet it is not a foreign language program per se. The program has a segment devoted to the teaching of English as a second language, yet it is not just an ESL program.

As indicated earlier, at the graduate level the program offers the M.A., M.Ed., and the Ph.D. with a specialization in bilingual education. At this level, students have the option of pursuing degrees through either the Department of Curriculum and Instruction (C & I) or through the Foreign Language Education Center (FLEC). Although the programs are similar, the FLEC program is designed for students who are more linguistically oriented, such as foreign language teachers. The C & I program usually appeals more to students who have been general elementary teachers and who are native speakers of Spanish or who have an interest in working with Mexican-American children and who happen to be bilingual themselves.

The thrusts of the graduate program are two-fold: specialized teacher-training and the preparation of teacher trainers. Although graduate programs are flexible, the emphasis again is on the Mexican American and the Spanish language. Students must be proficient in Spanish, since some education courses are taught in this language. While the Ph.D. degree is, to an extent, research oriented the practical dimensions of bilingual education are also stressed. Students without prior experience in a bilingual education classroom must do a field experience of one or two semesters in a local school.

Both the FLEC and C & I programs are under the auspices of the College of Education, but they are interdisciplinary in nature. Graduate students have an opportunity to come in contact not only with subject matter within the college, but with concepts and information from such diverse fields as Linguistics, Anthropology, Mexican-American Studies, Spanish, Psychology, etc. The graduate programs provide flexibility and students have an opportunity to arrange their program in consultation with the Graduate Adviser and the Bilingual Program Adviser to take into account individual interests and backgrounds.

As bilingual education programs continue to grow in quantity and quality and as the public at large comes to the realization that bilingual education is a beneficial educational approach--indeed, the most beneficial and expedient manner of capitalizing on the intellectual, cultural, and linguistic strengths of children who speak a language other than English--then, bilingual education will be the rule, rather than the exception, in teacher preparation programs.

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PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Theme: Imagine Yourself a Student in your own Classroom: What Changes?

28th Annual Conference

Ridpath Hotel, Sprague and Stevens, Spokane, Washington
Sponsored by Washington State University and the University of Idaho

PROGRAM

Thursday, April 21, 1977

4:00 EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING (Cougar Room)

6:00 DINNER, EXECUTIVE BOARD (Arcade Room)

Friday, April 22, 1977

8:30 - 9:30 EXECUTIVE BOARD BREAKFAST (Empire Room C)

8:30 - 5:00 REGISTRATION (Hotel Mezzanine)

COFFEE, EXHIBITS (Terrace Room A)

9.45 - 11:00 SECTION MEETINGS

FRENCH LITERATURE I (Terrace Room B)
Section Head: Doug Daniels, Montana State University

9:45 1. "Orientations fondamentales des dix dernières années de la littérature du Québec."
Roch Carrier, Visiting Novelist, Province of Quebec

10:20 2. "Les Lilas et les roses."
Claude Bouygues, University of British Columbia

10:40 3. "Les Fils du pauvre, document sur l'éducation d'un enfant kabyle dans la seconde décennie du vingtième siècle."
Jeanne Adam, University of Victoria

ITALIAN LITERATURE I (Terrace Room C)
Section Head: Emmanuel Hatzantonis, University of Oregon

9:45 1. "Michelangelo Antonioni Between Fiction and Reality."
Pietro Ferrua, Lewis and Clark College

10:10 2. "Tra Aristo e Tasso: L'Angelica Innamorata di V. Grusantino."
Nelly A. Peruch, University of Alberta

10:35 3. "Calliopius and the Recitator Tradition in Neo-Latin Drama."
Mary Sabatini, University of Alberta

GERMAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION (Cougar Room 302)
Section Head: Guenter G. Schmalz, Montana State University

9:45 1. "Die heutigen Probleme der rätoromanischen Sprache."
Anton Andereggen, University of Portland

10:10 2. "Die Schule und die Entwicklung der sozialistischen Persönlichkeit in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik."
Harriet P. O'Swald, Eastern Washington State

10:35 3. "Sexism in Languages? So What?"
Dinah Dodds, Lewis and Clark College.

Election of Section Head

SPANISH LITERATURE I (Whitworth Room 321)
Section Head: Jack B. Jelinski, Montana State University

9:45 1. "Aspects of Archetype in La casa verde."
Richard A. Curry, University of Nevada

10:10 2. "Remedios, la bella, or The Mythe of Convention."
M. Audrey Aaron, University of Idaho

10:35 3. "Betrayed by Education: Puig's La traición de Rita Hayworth."
Wolfgang A. Luchting, Washington State University

BILINGUAL EDUCATION (Arcade Room)
Section Head: Raul Hunt, Nampa School District

9:45 1. "Training Bilingual Teachers."
Elizabeth Baricevic, Eastern Oregon State College

10:05 2. "Bilingualism and Language Assessment."
Joseph Matluck, University of Texas at Austin
Betty Mace-Matluck, Seattle Public Schools

10:30 PANEL DISCUSSION
"Different Aspects of Bilingualism in the Northwest."
Joseph Matluck, University of Texas at Austin
John Merrick, Nampa School District
Glenn Probst, Burley School District
Elizabeth Baricevic, Eastern Oregon State College

Election of Section Head

CLASSICAL LITERATURE I (University Room)
Section Head: Samuel Carleton, Pacific Lutheran University

9:45 Slide Presentation. "Magister Gregorius' Medieval Guide to the Antiquities of Rome."
Paul Paschal, University of Washington

11:00 - 11:15 COFFEE, EXHIBITS (Terrace Room A)

11:15 - 12:30 WELCOME -- Sara Ellen Malueg, President, PNCFL (Empire Room A)

PANEL "Foreign Languages Tomorrow."
Gordon H. Coe, Managing Editor, Spokane Daily Chronicle
Bernard J. Coughlin, S.J., President, Gonzaga University
Ernest W. Hartung, President, University of Idaho
B. A. Nugent, Dean, College of Sciences and Arts, Washington State University
Questions from the floor are invited.

12:30 - 2:00 LUNCHEON (Empire Room C)
Introduction of distinguished guests
WSU German Choir, Charles Kenlan, Director

2:00 - 3:15 PANEL ON CHINESE METHODOLOGY (Gonzaga Room)
Section Head: Aloysius Chang, Washington State University

PANEL Angela Palandri, University of Oregon
Jan W. Walls, University of British Columbia
Yvonne Walls, University of British Columbia
John B. Wang, University of Montana

FRENCH CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION I (Terrace Room B)
Section Head: Anton Andereggen, University of Portland

2:00 1. "La Situation politique depuis les élections du 15 novembre et la victoire du Parti québecois."
Roch Carrier, Visiting Novelist, Province of Quebec

2:25 2. "French Language and Culture in Cambodia."
Johannes M. Spronk, Eastern Oregon State College

2:50 3. "La Mutation culturelle de la France: de la société de l'Ancien Régime à celle de l'ubiquité."
Joseph Labat, Washington State University

LUSO-BRAZILIAN LITERATURE (Terrace Room C)
Section Head: Jack Schmitt, California State University, Long Beach

2:00 1. "Time Planes and the Gaining of Conscience in Graciliano Ramos' São Bernardo."
Ronald M. Harmon, California State University at Fullerton

2:00 2. "Notes on a Little-Known Experiment of Miguéis."
John Austin Kerr, Jr., Northern Illinois University

2:40 3. "Patrícia Galvão and Brazilian Social Realism."
Kenneth David Jackson, University of Texas at Austin

Election of Section Head

GERMAN LITERATURE (Cougar Room 302)
Section Head: Robert A. Herschbach, University of Puget Sound

2:00 1. "Wieland's Musarion: Comedy and the Undoing of Didacticism."
Herbert Rowland, Eastern Washington State University

2:20 2. "Gestaltungskraft und Erzählstruktur in Bobrowski's Litauische Geschichte."
Sigfrid Hoefert, University of Waterloo

2:45 3. "Brecht's Der gut Mensch von Sezuan: Is goodness female?"
Dinah Dodds, Lewis and Clark College

Election of Section Head

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE (Whitworth Room 321)
Section Head: Roman Struc, University of Calgary

2:00 1. "Mme de Genlis and the Early American Stage: New Perspectives in the History and Thematics of American Drama."
Joseph G. Reish, Western Michigan University

2:30 2. "'Novalis' 'Gewissen' and the Relevance of the Jungian Concepts to the Understanding of his Works and World-View."
René Breugelmans, University of Calgary

Election of Section Head

STUDY AND TEACHING ABROAD (Arcade Room)
Section Head: Geraldine Auel, Oregon State University

2:00 1. "Foreign Language and International Education: Fork in the Road?"
Michael K. Macdonald, Seattle Pacific University

2:30 2. "Study Abroad and Subversion."
Louis A. Olivier, University of Oregon

Election of Section Head

HISPANIC CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION I (University Room)
Section Head: Manuel Jato Macías, University of Portland

2:00 1. "Cultural Contrast."
Lloyd K. Hulse, Lewis and Clark College

2:25 2. "The Labyrinth of Solitude--Revisited."
Daniel Rangel-Guerrero, Western Washington State College

2:50 3. "Spain in Transition: A Background for Today's Spanish Mores and Attitudes."
Tomás Oguiza, Southern Oregon State College

3:15 - 3:30 COFFEE, EXHIBITS (Terrace Room A)

3:30 - 5:00 LINGUISTICS (Terrace Room B)
Section Head: Anthony F. Beltramo, University of Montana

3:30 1. "More on English Loanwords in the Doukhobor Dialect."
Alex P. Harshenin, University of British Columbia

3:55 2. "Linguistics at the University of Montana: A Case History of an Interdisciplinary Program."
Robert B. Hausmann, University of Montana

4:20 3. "Enliven Your Language Historically!"
Helga Hosford, University of Montana
O. W. Rolfe, University of Montana

4:45 4. "Variations on Chafe's Semantic Base."
Anthony Mattina et al., University of Montana

Election of Section Head

SPANISH LITERATURE II (Cougar Room 302)
Section Head: Jack B. Jelinski, Montana State University

3:30 1. "El humorismo en las Obras Completas de Augusto Monterroso."
Ray Verzasconi, Oregon State University

3:55 2. "El amor amargo de la lírica de Espronceda."
Ricardo López-Landeira, University of Wyoming

4:20 3. "La creación del personaje en Doña Bárbara: un juego de espejos."
Antonio Martínez Herrarte, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Election of Section Head

SLAVIC LITERATURE (Whitworth Room 321)
Section Head: Ieva Vitins, Reed College

3:30 1. "Child Characters in Fyodor Sologub's Short Stories."
Douglas Herron, Reed College

3:55 2. "The Literary Criticism of A. Tertz (Sinyavsky)."
Albert Leong, University of Oregon

4:20 3. "Tolstoy's 'Three Deaths': The Maturation of Technique."
Edmund Yarwood, Eastern Washington State College

4:40 4. "The Structure of Tolstoy's 'Ispoved-'."
David Patterson, University of Oregon

Election of Section Head

FRENCH LITERATURE II (Terrace Room C)
Section Head: Doug Daniels, Montana State University

3:30 1. "Corbière's Search for Peace."
Toni Koubourlis, University of Idaho

3:55 2. "Le Mal du mâle chez Michel Butor et François Nourissier."
Claudine Guégan-Fisher, Portland State University

4:25 3. "Marguerite Yourcenar, Tout est autre."
Ilda-Marie Easterling, Central Washington State College

Election of Section Head

CLASSICAL LITERATURE (Arcade Room)
Section Head: Samuel Carleton, Pacific Lutheran University

3:30 1. "Grammatical Concept Learning in the Teaching of Greek."
Frank Leddusire, Seattle Pacific University
Christina Horst Roseman, Seattle Pacific University

3:50 2. "The Multiplier and the Decline of Sparta."
John Jamison, Lakeside Middle School

4:15 3. "The Role of Women in Catullus, Horace, and Ovid."
Discussion Leader: Esther Wagner, University of Puget Sound

Election of Section Head

SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE (University Room)
Section Head: Sven H. Rossel, University of Washington

3:30 1. "The Archetypal Hero in Nordic Myth and Legend."
Henning Sehmsdorf, University of Washington

3:55 2. "The Finno-Swedish Genre Problem: Sign of a Social Ailment or a Linguistic Handicap?"
Virpi Zuck, University of Oregon

4:15 3. "The Quests in the Works of Per Olof Sundman."
Lars G. Warme, University of Washington

4:35 4. "Notes Toward an Introduction to the Scandinavian Immigrant Literature on the Pioneer Experience."
Christer L. Mossberg, University of Oregon

Election of Section Head

5:00 - 6:00 Section Heads for the 1977 Conference will meet with David Benseler, PNCFL Publications Director (Arcade Room)

5:00 - 6:00 Roundtable for Institutional Sponsors (Cougar Room 302)
Committee Head: Klaus Englehardt

5:15 - 7:00 NO-HOST COCKTAIL HOUR (Terrace Room C)

DINNER: See Restaurant List

Saturday, April 23, 1977

8:30 - 2:30 REGISTRATION (Hotel Mezzanine)

COFFEE, EXHIBITS (Terrace Room A)

9:00 - 10:15 SECTION MEETINGS

FRENCH LITERATURE III (Terrace Room B)
Section Head: Doug Daniels, Montana State University

9:00 1. "Jean-Jacques Rousseau's opera Le Devin du Village--A New Assessment."
Martin Kopf, Whitman College

9:30 2. "Voltaire et la monarchie constitutionnelle."
Roman Zylawy, University of Montana

TEACHING TECHNIQUES I (Terrace Room C)
Section Head: R. Carol Healy, Portland State University

9:00 1. "Teaching Culture: A Focus on the Spanish-Speaking Community."
Francy S. Milner, Catlin-Gabel School

9:20 2. "Audio-Visual Vocabulary Building."
Magdalena M. Ladd, Clackamas Community College

9:40 3. "Translations and their Part in Teaching Methods."
Franz Langhammer, Portland State University

TEACHING VOCABULARY: SOME NEW IDEAS (Cougar Room 302)
A presentation by Peter A. Eddy from the Center for Applied Linguistics and Western Washington State College

9:00 - 9:30 WHAT THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES CAN DO FOR THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING PROFESSION (Gonzaga Room 308)
A presentation by David Benseler from the National Endowment for the Humanities and Washington State University

GENERAL PEDAGOGY (Gonzaga Room 308)
Section Head: Gertrud Mazur, Washington State University

9:30 A Questionnaire on Teacher Certification: Will You Answer?
Antoinette A. Poulsen, Washington State University

HISPANIC CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION II (Whitworth Room 321)
Section Head: Manuel Jato Macias, University of Portland

9:00 1. "El romance de ciegos, último vestigio del mester de juglaría."
José A. Alonso, Eastern Washington State College

9:20 2. "Curranderismo: A Point of Departure."
Earle Rees, Portland State University

9:40 3. "Raimón o la unificación de la revuelta."
Jaime Pérez-Montaner, Lewis and Clark College

Election of Section Head

ITALIAN LITERATURE II (Arcade Room)
Section Head: Emmanuel Hatzantonis, University of Oregon

9:00 1. "Punizione e sofferenza nell'Inferno dantesco."
Alfredo Bonadeo, University of California at Santa Barbara

9:30 2. "The Romantic Baron of Italo Calvino."
Ester Zago, University of Colorado

Election of Section Head

10:15 - 10:30 COFFEE, EXHIBITS (Terrace Room A)

10:30 - 11:00 BUSINESS MEETING (Empire Room A)
Election of officers. All PNCFL members please attend.

11:00 - 12:00 KEYNOTE ADDRESS (Empire Room A)

THOUGHTS FROM EUROPE ABOUT LEARNING A SECOND LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSROOM
Dale L. Lange
Professor, Second Languages and Cultures Education
University of Minnesota

12:00 - 1:00 LUNCHEON (Empire Room C)

1:00 - 2:30 **SECTION MEETINGS**

TEACHING TECHNIQUES II (Terrace Room B)
Section Head: R. Carol Healy, Portland State University

1:00 1. "A Checklist of Do's and Don't's for Micro Teaching."
William H. Bryant, Western Washington State College

1:25 2. "Talking to Students"
"The Dictée, Revised Edition."
"Using the Radio as an Auxiliary in the Language Lab."
I. Sawyer, Simon-Frazer University

Election of Section Head

FRENCH CULTURE II (Terrace Room C)
Section Head: Anton Andereggen, University of Portland

1:00 1. "The French Woman."
Claudine Buégan-Fisher, Portland State University

1:30 2. "Le Bicentenaire et le marquis de Lafayette."
Marie-France Hilgar, University of Nevada

1:55 3. "A Tale of Four Travelers: American and Russian Views of Eighteenth-Century France."
Carolyn H. Wilberger, Portland State University

Election of Section Head

TESTING TECHNIQUES (Cougar Room 302)
Section Head: Betty G. Mace-Matluck, Seattle Public Schools

1:00 1. "A Model for the Development of Language Assessment Instruments which Insures Psychometric Quality."
Vincent Doyle, Center for Applied Linguistics and University of Idaho

1:35 2. "University Training for Developing Teacher Competencies in Bilingual Education."
George M. Blanco, University of Texas at Austin

Election of Section Head

ITALIAN LITERATURE III (Whitworth Room 321)
Section Head: Emmanuel Hatzantonis, University of Oregon

1:00 1. "Decadenti e decadenti all'italiana."
Franco E. Albi, California State College at Bakersfield

1:20 2. "La dialettica femminista di Veronica Franco."
Danilo Aguzzi-Barbagli, University of British Columbia

SPANISH LITERATURE III (Arcade Room)
Section Head: Jack B. Jelinski, Montana State University

1:00 1. "El poema apócrifo de Heredia."
Luis Valdespino, Central Washington State College

1:25 2. "The Interior Landscape of Ramón López Velarde."
Celia E. Weller, Whitman College

1:00 COMMITTEE MEETING ON THE PUBLICATION OF CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION (Gonzaga Room 308)
Committee Head: Eva Hagemeyer

2:30 - 3:30 The 1978 Sections Heads will meet with David Benseler, PNCFL Publications Director (Arcade Room)

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Executive Committee Meeting

21-22 April 1977

MINUTES

The Executive Committee of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages held its annual meeting on 21-22 April 1977 at the Ridpath Hotel in Spokane, Washington. The meeting was convened at 4:30 p.m. on 21 April by President Sara Ellen Malueg. The meeting recessed at 6 p.m. for dinner, co-hosted by Washington State University and the University of Idaho. The meeting reconvened at 7:45 p.m. and recessed at 11:15 p.m. The meeting was then reconvened at 8:15 a.m., 22 April, and adjourned at 9:30 a.m. Elected officers attending included President Malueg, Past President Michael Macdonald, and Secretary-Treasurer Harry Reinert. Elected Committee members attending included Loretta Wollett, Glen Probst, M. Audrey Aaron, Duane Jackson, John Wang, Rex Dahl, and Eva Hagemeyer. Appointed officers attending included David P. Benseler, Publications Director; Ray Verzasconi, Newsletter Editor; Elizabeth Stevenson, Conference Chairperson; and Klaus Engelhardt, Institutional Support Coordinator. Ex-officio members attending included Dieter Romboy, Washington Association of Foreign Language Teachers; Ediltrudis Reichmuth, Montana Association of Language Teachers; and Kenneth Hegler, British Columbia Association of Teachers of Modern Languages. Guests for part of the session were Marie-France Hilgar and Jack Jelinsky.

REPORTS

A. Publications

1. Publications Business Manager. Rex Dahl reported that in the previous two months there had been a great increase in correspondence concerning the Proceedings. This correspondence was the result of two flyers which had been mailed to around 1800 department chairmen and serial librarians throughout the country earlier in the year. The orders received so far for back issues and new standing orders had already paid for the cost of the mailing and were beginning to provide a profit on sales.

2. Newsletter. Ray Verzasconi announced that this year the first three issues of the Newsletter had been mailed to about 1300 persons. Although there were some difficulties initially in finding enough material, he now had ample material for the third issue. Feedback from institutions which had announced summer programs has been very positive.

3. Proceedings. David P. Benseler announced that the 1976 Proceedings were in print. The printing of Volume 2 was delayed because of a press breakdown in the print shop at Oregon State University. He pointed out some cover changes in the 1976 Proceedings: 1. The title "Second Language Teaching" has been dropped as the major title of Part 2, but for the sake of uniformity both parts are identified as Proceedings; 2. Different colors are used for the covers of Parts 1 and 2 in order to provide for quick identification.

Preparation of the 1977 Proceedings is already well under way. John T. Brewer of Washington State University will edit Part 1 and Benseler will edit Part 2. Manuscripts should be ready for the typist by mid-summer and be ready for printing by October 1. Thus, both volumes should be in print before Christmas.

Virtually every paper presented at the conference will appear in the Proceedings. Benseler pointed out that because of the great variation in the size of different sections, a real problem arose in trying to reduce the number of papers to be published, e.g. in a small section with only three papers, the third paper might well be inferior to a paper rated sixth in a section with a total of twelve papers. Thus, to decide to eliminate the better paper from the larger section--just because it was sixth--and publish the inferior paper which had been selected because it was in a small section would not work to improve the overall quality of the Proceedings.

In response to a question regarding the role of Section Heads in the editing of the Proceedings, Benseler said that the Section Heads were listed as the Editorial Board. Although the Committee at its 1975 meeting had recommended that Section Heads would be listed as editors of the papers in their respective sections, further changes made in 1976 had made this plan impracticable. Identifying the Section Heads as the Editorial Board more accurately reflected their contributions to the editing process.

Benseler announced that because he has accepted a position outside the PNCFL area, he was submitting his resignation as Publications Director, effective with completion of work on the 1977 Proceedings. He recommended the appointment of Ray Verzasconi to fill his unexpired term of two years.

B. Membership

1. Individual. Eva Hagemeyer announced that on 20 April membership stood at 218. She noted that the new membership card this year had reduced--but not eliminated--the problems experienced in previous years, and thus further modifications still are needed. She suggested that in the future the cards would be used only for members in full standing, not for those who are conference registrants only.

2. Institutional. Klaus Engelhardt reported that he had sent out two mailings to foreign language departments in the PNCFL area soliciting their institutional support. Two new sponsors were added to the roster this year as a result. The meeting of department heads at the conference this year was designed as an added incentive for departments to become actively involved in PNCFL. The suggestion was made that potential sponsors should also be informed of the potential of the Newsletter to disseminate news concerning special programs on different campuses.

**The Committee agreed that the Newsletter would continue to carry listings of all programs of special interest to PNCFL members, but special consideration would be given to those programs sponsored by institutional members.

Since Engelhardt will not be on campus for at least half of the next year, he requested that the President appoint another person to coordinate institutional support.

C. National Delegate

Sonja Hunt reported on the three organizations to which she is the representative for PNCFL.

1. American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). The organizational structure of ACTFL has been revised. The previous distinction between affiliate and constituent members has been eliminated. Thus, both state and regional organizations are now members on an equal footing. Each organization, however, must notify ACTFL of its intent to continue participating actively in ACTFL.

**The Committee agreed by consensus that a letter should be sent to the ACTFL Executive Secretary indicating that PNCFL does wish to maintain active status in ACTFL.

2. National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (NFMLTA). The major function of NFMLTA continues to be the publication of the Modern Language Journal, which is still doing well under the editorship of Charles King. Hunt recommended that PNCFL, as a member of NFMLTA, should more actively promote the Modern Language Journal among its own members.

Among other items on the NFMLTA agenda, a letter from Wallace Klein, who is retiring as Business Manager of the Modern Language Journal after fourteen years, stirred special interest.

**At the suggestion of Sonja Hunt, the Committee approved a motion that the Secretary/Treasurer be directed to write Wallace Klein a letter expressing the thanks of PNCFL for his many years of service.

3. Fédération Internationale des Professeurs des Langues Vivantes (FIPLV). No representative of PNCFL was able to attend the annual meeting of FIPLV in Paris last October. Publications from FIPLV continue to arrive and synopses of these studies are published in the PNCFL Newsletter.

**President Malueg indicated that Klaus Engelhardt had volunteered this year to prepare these summaries for the Newsletter, but in the future this responsibility will be assumed by the National Delegate.

Hunt announced that the next FIPLV Congress will be held in Lucerne, Switzerland, 27 March - 1 April 1978.

D. Conference

Elizabeth Stevenson noted that several of the pedagogy sections established by the Committee in 1976 did not appear on the program, since no papers had been received for those sections. She recommended that the current list of sections be retained for at least another year, however, in order to give the plan a fair trial.

**The Committee agreed by consensus to continue the present pedagogical divisions for at least one more year.

She also recommended that a cover letter giving a resumé of the most important features of the guidelines be sent along with the guidelines to Section Heads.

**The Committee commended Elizabeth Stevenson by acclamation for the program she had arranged for the conference.

E. Secretary/Treasurer

Harry Reinert reported that PNCFL had enough uncommitted funds this year to make it possible to transfer another $1500 from the checking to the savings account. He indicated his hope that, in a few more years, PNCFL would have a sufficiently large financial "cushion" to be able to offer more services to its members and to be able occasionally to move in new directions in order to expand its operations.

He explained the accounting system which had been set up this year and which he expects will more accurately identify the true financial condition of PNCFL. As one illustration of this, he pointed out that when one listed the contributions made by Oregon State University and Simon Fraser University during the past three years, it turned out that the cost of publishing the Proceedings had remained fairly constant--around $3000 per year--although the earlier financial reports, which had not included such

donated services as the cost of typing manuscripts, seemed to indicate that the cost of publication had fluctuated as much as $600-$800 per year.

Reinert read a letter from George McSpadden, one of the organizing members of PNCFL who is now at the University of North Carolina, congratulating PNCFL on its continuing activities. Reinert expressed concern over the number of Canadian members who do not remit money to PNCFL in US funds. Currently the exchange rate is around 6%, and thus PNCFL loses $20-$30 per year in exchange rates alone.

He also emphasized that more lead time was necessary in order to get conference announcements out in the Spring. With the current deadlines, the mailings went out on March 17 (which itself was possible only because several persons worked late into the night), and even so a considerable number of members had not received the materials prior to the conference. With the greatly expanded mailing list which has been proposed by Ray Verzasconi, at least an additional four to six weeks will be mandatory.

ITEMS FOR DISCUSSION AND ACTION

A. Proceedings

1. Deadline for submission of papers. There was considerable discussion concerning the advisability of establishing earlier deadlines for the submission of papers for the 1978 conference. Proponents of earlier deadlines argued that such a change was necessary in order to have the Proceedings appear earlier and in order to give the Conference Chairman adequate time to organize sections and get the Spring announcements in the mail well in advance of the conference. Opponents of this position argued that earlier deadlines worked a hardship on those authors who would be preparing papers for submission and on the Section Heads who would be working with members of their own sections.

**The Committee approved, by a vote of 9 to 3, a motion to set 1 December 1977 as the deadline for submission of papers for the 1978 conference.

2. Examination copies. Rex Dahl reported that he received occasional requests for examination copies of the Proceedings, and he asked for a policy statement on this matter.

**The Committee approved by consensus the policy that no examination copies will be sent.

It was suggested that persons making such requests be referred to the library of their institution or to the ERIC system, where articles from the Proceedings are stored.

3. Typing fee. The question of assessing a fee of $1 per double-spaced typed page of manuscript to pay for typing manuscripts for publication in the Proceedings was again raised. David Benseler pointed out that the fee has indeed had the desirable effect of reducing verbosity in the papers. Additionally, it was pointed out that the current fee covers only approximately one-half the actual cost to PNCFL for having the manuscripts typed.

**The Committee by consensus agreed to continue the typing fee at its current level.

The hope was expressed that in coming years the organization may have sufficient funds--perhaps through increased institutional support--to eliminate this charge.

4. Guidelines to Section Heads. Several Section Heads, including Jack Jelinsky, who was present at the meeting, had indicated that the Guidelines prepared last Fall were too complex. President Malueg requested help from Jelinsky and other Section Heads in providing suggestions aimed at simplifying the Guidelines.

5. Publications Director Position. In light of the resignation of David Benseler as Publications Director, the Committee felt that a replacement needed to be appointed immediately.

**The Committee approved a motion that the President appoint immediately a replacement to fill the unexpired two-year term of Publications Director.

**President Malueg, with the Committee concurring, appointed Ray Verzasconi to the position of Publications Director, effective immediately, except for publication of the 1977 Proceedings. The term will continue until 1979.

B. Soliciting Nominations

Jack Jelinsky spoke on behalf of revising the procedures for nominating candidates for the various offices of PNCFL.

**The Committee approved a motion that a Nominating Committee should be empowered to solicit nominations prior to the conference, and the vehicle for informing the membership of the candidates would be the Newsletter. Information concerning each candidate which would be listed in the Newsletter would include (1) a statement of professional background, (2) contributions the candidate has made to the profession, and (3) a statement from the candidate of a willingness to serve. The motion would take effect with the 1978 elections.

The Committee decided to leave to the judgment of the Nominating Committee such other matters as the criteria by which candidates are chosen and how many candidates would be listed for each position. It would be expected, however, that the Nominating Committee would seek to maintain a balance between languages, levels of instruction, and geographical distribution, as has been traditional in the past.

C. Application for Membership

Marie-France Hilgar presented to the Committee the formal request from Rhoda C. Schaefer, President of the Nevada Foreign Language Teachers Association, for admission of Nevada into PNCFL.

**The Committee approved a motion that Nevada be accepted as a member state of PNCFL.

D. Conference Site Selection

Marie-France Hilgar presented on behalf of Arthur C. Gentile, Vice President for Academic Affairs, an invitation from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, to hold the 1979 PNCFL conference in Las Vegas. There was some concern that the distance of Las Vegas from the Northwest corner might limit participation by some PNCFL members, but on the other hand it was argued that the Las Vegas location would make it easier for potential new members from Arizona, New Mexico, and California to become acquainted with PNCFL.

**The Committee approved a motion that PNCFL accept the invitation of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, to meet in Las Vegas in 1979, with a recommendation that the meeting be held in conjunction with the state association, if possible.

E. Nominations

There was concern regarding nominations for the positions of President and Vice-President, since Vice-President Wolf Hollerbach was still on sabbatical in Europe and was not expected to return until the end of summer. The selection of a Conference Chairman and other preparations for the 1978 conference needed to be made immediately and could not be postponed until Hollerbach's return. The Committee also wished to provide PNCFL with Hollerbach's services as President for a full one-year term.

**The Committee approved a motion that the membership be requested to suspend for this year only that portion of Article I, Section 2 of the Bylaws which states ". . . the candidate for President placed in nomination by the Executive Committee shall be the incumbent Vice President," in order to nominate for a second term Sara Ellen Malueg as President and Wolf Hollerbach as Vice President.

***The membership at the annual business meeting on 22 April agreed to suspend this requirement for 1977 only.

**The Committee approved the following slate of candidates for positions on the Executive Committee for 1977-1980:

Roman Struc, University of Calgary
Marie-France Hilgar, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Kenneth Hegler, British Columbia Modern Language Teachers Association

***The membership at its general meeting on 22 April elected to office the slate of candidates proposed by the Executive Committee.

F. Other Business

1. Questions concerning possible constitutional revisions, including proposals for changes in fee structure for retired members and special recognition for members who have made outstanding contributions to the profession, were referred to the Standing Committee on Constitution.

2. It was pointed out that the National Delegate bears an unusually heavy financial burden in traveling to various meetings to represent PNCFL.

**The Committee approved a motion to pay up to $100 per meeting for expenses entailed by the National Delegate who represents PNCFL at that meeting.

3. President Malueg noted that there had not been sufficient time to advertise and promote the logo contest adequately, and thus the deadline for submission of proposals was extended until 15 June. This extension of the deadline was announced at the business meeting.

4. Ray Verzasconi announced that the PNCFL mailing list is being coded in the computer according to state, language, and level of instruction, so a variety of different mailing lists is available.

5. The Committee discussed the possibility of selling advertisements in the annual program.

**The Committee agreed that the Conference Chairman would be authorized to solicit advertising for the annual program if he chooses to do so.

6. A number of concerns still exist regarding the manner of selecting Section Heads. These matters will be referred to a Standing Committee on Section Heads for study and recommendations for possible alternatives.

7. The question was raised by what procedure does a section become permanently installed within the PNCFL program. The Committee did not wish to set up a formal process for deciding this matter.

8. President Malueg appointed Jean-Charles Seigneuret, Washington State University, as Conference Chairman for the 1978 conference to be held 21-22 April at the Hilton Hotel in Portland, Oregon, co-hosted by Oregon State University and Portland State University.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Reinert
Secretary/Treasurer

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

1 July 1976 - 30 June 1977

ASSETS

Balance 7/1/76	Checking		$3,741.06	
	Savings		2,173.74	
Total assets 7/1/76				$5,914.80
Income				
Membership				
Individual		$2,571.84		
Institutional		175.00		
Total			$2,746.84	
Proceedings				
Sales		1,007.09		
Typing fees		690.00		
Total			1,697.09	
Conference				
Meals		460.00		
Displays		197.50		
Total			657.50	
Donations/Rebates			714.02	
TOTAL INCOME			$5,815.45	
Savings deposits			2,000.07	
Combined income/savings				7,815.52
TOTAL ASSETS 7/1/76-6/30/77				$13,730.32
TOTAL EXPENDITURES 7/1/76-6/30/77				8,555.68
Balance 6/30/77	Checking		$1,400.83	
	Savings		3,773.81	
ASSETS 6/30/77				$5,174.64
Net loss 7/1/76-6/30/77				740.16

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

1 July 1976 - 30 June 1977

EXPENDITURES

Promotion and Information			
Printing/Preparation		$665.40	
Postage		154.61	
Supplies		63.81	
Refunds		26.00	
TOTAL			$909.82
Publications			
Proceedings:	Typing	$1,004.65	
	Printing	1,266.97	
	Postage	207.46	
Newsletter		379.37	
Promotion/Billing		155.32	
Supplies/Miscellaneous		180.90	
TOTAL			$3,194.67
Conference			
Meals		$680.61	
Speaker		399.23	
Wages/Supplies		580.16	
Rentals		42.04	
Refunds		44.10	
TOTAL			$1,747.17
General Operations			
Postage/Fees		$200.63	
Savings deposits		1,900.00	
Supplies/Charges		203.42	
TOTAL			$2,304.05
TOTAL FROM CHECKING			$8,155.68
Savings Withdrawal			400.00
TOTAL EXPENDITURES 7/1/76-6/30/77			$8,555.68

PNCFL 1950 - 1977

Year	Sponsoring Institution
1950	University of Washington Seattle, Washington
1951	University of British Columbia Vancouver, British Columbia
1952	University of Oregon Eugene, Oregon
1953	Reed College Portland, Oregon
1954	Washington State University Pullman, Washington
1955	University of Washington Seattle, Washington
1956	Montana State University Missoula, Montana
1957	University of British Columbia Vancouver, British Columbia
1958	University of Oregon Eugene, Oregon
1959	University of Idaho Moscow, Idaho
1960	University of Washington Seattle, Washington
1961	Gonzaga University Spokane, Washington
1962	Portland State University Portland, Oregon
1963	University of Alberta Edmonton, Alberta (Conference held at Banff, Alberta)
1964	Montana State University Missoula, Montana
1965	University of Washington Seattle, Washington
1966	University of Victoria Victoria, British Columbia
1967	Gonzaga University Spokane, Washington
1968	Caroll College Helena, Montana
1969	Lewis and Clark College Portland, Oregon
1970	University of Victoria Victoria, British Columbia
1971	The College of Idaho Caldwell, Idaho (Conference held at Boise, Idaho)
1972	Oregon State University Corvallis, Oregon (Conference held at Gleneden Beach, Oregon)
1973	Western Washington State College Bellingham, Washington (Conference held at Orcas Island, Washington)
1974	Eastern Washington State College Cheney, Washington (Conference held at Spokane, Washington)
1975	Simon Fraser University Burnaby, British Columbia (Conference held at Vancouver, British Columbia)
1976	Seattle Pacific College Seattle, Washington
1977	Washington State University Pullman, Washington and University of Idaho Moscow, Idaho (Conference held at Spokane, Washington)

PNCFL CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS

Adopted December 1, 1974
Amended April 24, 1976

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. NAME AND PURPOSES

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages, serving the following:

Alaska	Idaho	Utah
Alberta	Montana	Washington
British Columbia	Oregon	Wyoming
Hawaii	Nevada	

Section 2. Its purposes shall be to foster effective teaching, study, and research on the various foreign languages, their respective literatures and cultures, and the field of linguistics, as well as to promote the professional interests of its members.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Membership shall be open both to persons and institutions upon payment of the appropriate annual dues. Membership shall be of four classes, as follows:

(1) Regular membership: Anyone interested in foreign languages is eligible for regular membership.
(2) Joint membership: Any two persons eligible for regular membership who receive their mail at the same home address may upon payment of the appropriate annual dues share a joint membership.
(3) Junior membership: Any student is eligible for junior membership.
(4) Institutional membership: Any educational institution is eligible for institutional membership.

Section 2. The amount of the annual dues and entitlement to specific publications for each class of membership shall be determined by the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the members present at the next regular business meeting.

ARTICLE III. OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President (President-Elect), and a Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. There shall be an Executive Committee composed of nine elected members in addition to the President, Vice President (President-Elect), the outgoing President, and the Secretary-Treasurer. Insofar as possible, the nine elected members shall be appropriately distributed with respect to geography, language affiliation, and type of educational institution. Additional ex officio voting members shall include the Publications Director, the Presidents of the state or provincial language associations within the area specified in Article I, Section 1. Other Other state or provincial language associations may be represented on the Executive Committee upon written request and approval of the Executive Committee. Upon approval by the Committee, the name of the state or province will be added to Article I, Section 1.

Section 3. The elections to the Executive Committee shall take place at the regular annual business meeting. A slate of officers shall be placed in nomination by the Executive Committee in accordance with policies set forth in the Bylaws. Any member may make additional nominations from the floor.

ARTICLE IV. MEETINGS

Section 1. The Council shall hold a regular annual meeting and may hold additional meetings. The place and time of the regular annual meeting shall be determined by the President in consultation with the Executive Committee.

Section 2. There shall be a business meeting at each regular annual meeting.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. Amendments to the Constitution may be made by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the regular business session next following the one in which they have been proposed, or by a two-thirds vote of those members voting by mail on amendments that have been proposed by mail at any time between business sessions.

Section 2. In unusual or urgent circumstances, when deemed wise and of benefit to the Council, Section 1 of this Article may be suspended by a unanimous vote of the members present at the annual regular business meeting in order to effect the immediate adoption of a proposed amendment to this Constitution. An emergency amendment under this provision must be made by a three-quarters vote of the members present.

Section 3. Changes in the Bylaws may be made by the vote of a majority of those present at any regular business meeting.

BYLAWS

ARTICLE I. APPOINTIVE POSITIONS AND NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Section 1. All officers elected or appointed, and all members of the Executive Committee, shall be members in good standing.

Section 2. The nominees for President, Vice President, and Secretary-Treasurer, shall be selected as follows: the candidate for President placed in nomination by the Executive Committee shall be the incumbent Vice President. The term of the President shall be one year. The term of the Vice President shall be one year. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected for a four-year term.

Section 3. If between the time of his election and the next regular meeting circumstances arise which prevent the President from functioning, the Vice President will assume the duties of the President. The Executive Committee may, at its discretion, appoint a Vice President pro tem under these circumstances.

Section 4. The President, with the approval of the Executive Committee, shall appoint a Publications Director, a Publications Business Manager, a National Delegate, a Membership Chairman, a Conference Chairman, and any additional committees or agents that are deemed necessary. All appointments are for a one-year term except for Publications Director and Publications Business Manager, which are for three years. The National Delegate will be appointed from the membership of the Executive Committee. Appointees may be reappointed in ensuing years. The President may appoint members to fill any of these positions in the event vacancies occur before the expiration of terms. One person may hold more than one appointive position at the same time.

Section 5. The nine elected members of the Executive Committee shall each hold office for three years, three being elected each year, and may not succeed themselves.

ARTICLE II. DUTIES OF OFFICERS AND APPOINTEES

Section 1. The President shall call and preside over all meetings of the Council as well as those of the Executive Committee. He shall be responsible for the administration of the Council. He shall name all Committees, charge them with their duties, and receive their reports.

Section 2. The Vice President shall assist the President in the various duties which the President may assign him, and serve as President in the event the President is unable to discharge his duties.

Section 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep a written record of the general business meetings and meetings of the Executive Committee; shall maintain communication with other regional and national organizations, in particular those with which the Council is affiliated; shall notify all members of each meeting and its agenda at least one month before the date of the meeting; shall have charge of receiving, disbursing, and accounting for all funds of the Council, and shall submit to the Executive Committee at its regular meeting a proposed budget for the coming year.

Section 4. The Executive Committee shall assist the President in formulation and administration of the Council's policies.

Section 5. The Membership Chairman shall maintain up-to-date membership records; shall actively seek to expand the membership; shall ascertain that persons submitting papers for presentation at the annual conference are members in good standing.

Section 6. The Publications Director shall be responsible for overall management of all publications of the Council, including arrangement both for the editing and printing of these publications. Publication format and editorial policy shall be determined by the Executive Committee. The Publications Director may appoint whatever Editors he deems necessary.

Section 7. The Publications Business Manager shall be responsible for soliciting advertising for the Council's publications; shall assure that all members in good standing receive those publications to which their membership entitles them; shall seek institutional and other nonmember orders for the Council's publications; and shall be responsible for all mailing and billing in connection with any publications of the Council.

Section 8. The National Delegate shall serve as liaison between the Council and those national organizations of which the Council is either an affiliate or associate member. Specifically, he shall represent the Council at the annual meetings of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Association and of the Affiliate Assembly of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. He may also be directed by the President to represent the Council at other regional or national meetings. He shall report to the Executive Committee at least once a year.

Section 9. The Conference Chairman shall be responsible for all organizational details connected with the annual conference, including achieving a balance of literature, pedagogy, and linguistics in program content; establishing the format and sequence of presentations on the program; contacting and arranging for special speakers and exhibitors; and arranging for publicity in connection with the program. He may appoint assistants as he deems necessary. He shall attend all meetings of the Executive Committee and shall work within the policy guidelines set by the Executive Committee. The Conference Chairman may commit funds of the Council to meet expenses approved in advance by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE III. MEETINGS

Section 1. The place of the annual meeting shall be decided two years in advance.

Section 2. The annual meeting shall not be located two successive years in low population areas.

ARTICLE IV. DUES AND MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. At the beginning of each academic year, the Membership Chairman shall send his billing for annual dues to all members on record as of that date.

Section 2. All memberships shall be effective from November first through October thirty-first.

Section 3. Only members in good standing are eligible to present papers at the annual conference. Participants invited by the Conference Chairman are excluded from this provision.

1977 PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES
LIST OF MEMBERS

Numbers in brackets following address refer to "interests": 1 - Literature; 2 - Linguistics; 3 - Pedagogy; 4 - French; 5 - German; 6 - Spanish; 7 - Classics; 8 - Italian; 9 - Portuguese; 10 - Scandinavian; 11 - Slavic; 12 - Oriental; 13 - Other languages; 14 - Bilingual-Bicultural Education, TESOL; 15 - Comparative Literature; 16 - Culture.

AARON, M. AUDREY. 201 Taylor, #232 Moscow, ID [1,3,6,4]
ADAM, JEANNE. French Department, Univ. of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y2 [1,4]
AFRICA, CHARLES. Box 8145, Pocatello, ID 83209 [1,2,6]
AGGUZZI-BARBAGLI, DANILLO. Hispanic & Italian Studies, Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5 [1,8]
ANCONA, RONNIE. The Bush School, 405 - 36th Ave. E. Seattle, WA 98112 [1,2,3,7]
ANDEREGGEN, ANTON. Department of Modern Languages, Univ. of Portland, Portland, OR 97203 [1,4,5]
ANDERSON, DAVID L. Department of Foreign Languages, Univ. of Denver, Denver, CO 80210 [1,4,6,8]
ARCHBOLD, GEOFFREY. Department of Classics, Univ. of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y2 [2,7]
ALBERICO, ALFRED E. 21 Fremont Road, San Rafael, CA 94901 [1,4,7,8]
ALBI, F. E. Department of Foreign Languages, California State Univ., Bakersfield, CA [1,4,6,8]
ALONSO, JOSE A. Department of Modern Languages, Eastern Washington Univ., Cheney, WA 99004 [1,6]
AUEL, GERALDINE. International Education, Oregon State Univ., Corvallis, OR 97331 [3]
AYERS, ANGELA E. 7122 S.E. 36th Ave., Portland, OR 97202 [1,6]

BACIU-SIMIAN, MIRA. European Languages & Lits., Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI 96822 [1,4]
BAIRD, HERBERT JR. Foreign Languages & Lits., Western Washington Univ., Bellingham, WA 98225 [1,2,4,6]
BALCOM, FLORA M. L. Rt. 1 Box 55, Newman Lake, WA 99025 [1,2,4,6]
BALLIN, THEODORE and D. ELISABETH. Department of Classics, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, ALTA T6G 2E6 [1,3,4,5,7]
BARICEVIC, ELIZABETH M. Eastern Oregon State Coll., La Grande, OR 97850 [1,3,4,6,14]
BARTLETT, HELEN N. E. 11022 Alki, Spokane, WA 99206 [1]
BAUDIN, PHILIP R. 10343 Ravenna N.E., Seattle, WA 98125 [3,4]
BECKER, BRUNO. Mount Angel Abbey, St. Benedict, OR 97373 [2,3,6]
BELTRAMO, ANTHONY. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [2,3]
BENSELER, DAVID P. Department of German, Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio 43210 [1,2,3,5,16]
BILYEU, E. E. Department of Foreign Languages, Central Washington Univ., Ellensburg, WA 98926 [1,6]
BIRCH, JOAN M. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812 [3,5]
BISSLEY, GISELLE. Department of Humanities, Mount Royal Coll., Calgary, ALTA T2R 0Z5 [3,4]
BLACKMAN, MEL. 437 Foster Road, Nanaimo, B.C. [2,3,4,6]
BLANCO, GEORGE. Office of Bilingual Education, The Univ. of Texas, Austin, TX 78712 [2,6]
BOCAZ, SERGIO. Department of Modern Languages, Eastern Washington Univ., Cheney, WA 99004 [1,3,6]
BONADEO, A. A. Department of French & Italian, Univ. of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106 [1,8]
BOUYGUES, CLAUDE. French Department, Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5 [1,3,4,15]
BREITENBACH, GUSTAVE. Department of Humanities, Seattle Pacific Univ., Seattle, WA 98119 [3,5]
BRETT, KENNETH C. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [1,6]
BREUGELMANS, R. Department of Germanic Studies, Univ. of Calgary, Calgary, ALTA T2N 1N4 [1,4,5,13]
BREWER, JOHN T. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [1,5]
BROWN, MARCIA E. Gonzaga Prep. School, E. 1224 Euclid, Spokane, WA 99207 [2,4]
BRYANT, WILLIAM H. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Western Washington Univ., Bellingham, WA 98225 [1,2,3,4]
BUCK, GEORGE C. Department of Germanics, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,5]
BURGESS, ESTHER P. 934 Bonnie Brae, Walla Walla, WA 99362 [3,4,5]

CABELLO, GEORGE and SUSAN. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR 97207 [1,3,6, 8,9]
CAMPBELL, DAVID A. Department of Classics, Univ. of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y2 [1,7]
CANTRELL, KATHY. Modern Foreign Languages, Coll. of Great Falls, Great Falls, MT 59405 [1,3,6]
CARLETON, SAMUEL. Modern & Classical Languages, Pacific Lutheran Univ., Tacoma, WA 98447 [1,7]
CARROLL, CARLETON W. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Oregon State Univ., Corvallis, OR 97331 [1,2, 4,8,13]
CHANG, ALOYSIUS. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [1,12]
CHEDSEY, ZONA. Idaho Motel, Grangeville, ID 83530 [3,4,6]
COWARDIN, LOIS. 192 Harrison Street, Ashland, OR 97520 [2,3,5]
CURRY, RICHARD A. Department of Foreign Languages, Univ. of Nevada, Reno, NV 89507 [1,6]

DAHL, REX C. Department of Modern Languages, Montana State Univ., Bozeman, MT 59715 [1,3,5,10]
DANIELS, DOUG. Department of Modern Languages, Montana State Univ., Bozeman, MT 59715 [1,4]
DAVIS, MARVIN G. P.O. Box 354, Tonasket, WA 98855 [1,5,7]
DE HAAS, PAT. Rutherford Library. Reference Services, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, ALTA T6G 2J4 [1,2,4,5,6]
DE KONINCK, EMILE. Box 951, Ladysmith, B.C. V0R 2E0 [1,2,4,5]
DIMIC, MILAN V. Department of Comparative Literature, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, ALTA T6G 2E6 [1,5,15]

DODDS, DINAH. Department of Foreign Languages, Lewis & Clark Coll., Portland, OR 97219 [1,3,5]
DOUDOROFF, E. M. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Oregon State Univ., Corvallis, OR 97331 [1,4,5]
DOUGHERTY, JUDITH L. 4541 Chippewa Court, S.E., Salem, OR 97301 [1,3,6]
DOYLE, VINCENT. College of Education., Univ. of Idaho, Moscow, ID 83843 [2]
DRAYTON, PAULE. Department of Foreign Languages, Willamette Univ., Salem, OR 97301 [1,4]
DUNBAR, M. W. PETE. 13455 S.E. Oatfield Rd., 12-B, Milwaukie, OR 97222 [2,3,4,5,6]

EASTERLING, ILDA-MARIE. Department of Foreign Languages, Central Washington Univ., Ellensburg, WA 98926 [1,4]
EDDY, PETER A. 2140 N. Pierce Street, #5, Arlington, VA 22209 [2,3,4]
EGERT, EUGENE. Germanic Languages, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, ALTA T6G 2E6 [1,5]
ENGELHARD, KLAUS. Department of Foreign Languages, Lewis & Clark Coll., Portland, OR 97219 [1,5]

FERRUA, PIETRO. Department of Foreign Languages, Lewis & Clark Coll., Portland, OR 97219 [1,4, 6,8]
FLATIN, KJETIL A. Department of Scandinavian, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,10]
FLIGHTNER, JAMES A. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812 [1,6]
FRIEDRICH, PIA. Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,6,8]
FURSTENWALD, CONCHITA. 4040 Norwood Ave., North Vancouver, B.C. V7N 3R3 [1,5,6]

GARIEPY, ROBERT J. Department of Humanities, Eastern Washington Univ., Cheney, WA 99004 [1,7]
GIESE, FRANK & JEANNE BERNARD. Department of Foreign Languages, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR 97207 [1,2,4]
GOETZ, LORNA. 421 - 4th Avenue, Kimberly, B.C. V1A 2R7 [2,4]
GOLDIAN, E.R., S.J. Gonzaga Prep. School, E 1224 Euclid Avenue, Spokane, WA 99207 [3,4]
GONTRUM, PETER. Department of German & Russian, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [1,2,5]
GREENE, JOHN C. E. Department of French, Univ. of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y2 [1,4]
GUBLER, DONWORTH V. Asian & Slavic Languages, Brigham Young Univ., Provo, UT 84602 [1,11]
GUEGAN-FISHER, CLAUDINE. Department of Foreign Languages, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR 97207 [1,2,3,4]
GUINAZZO, LEONORA. 9544 S.E. Clatsop St., Portland, OR 97266 [3,6]

HAIMBERGER, JOHANN. 1000 KLO Road, Kelowna, B.C. V1Y 4X8 [1,2,3,5]
HAIMBERGER, NORA. Department of German, Univ. of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y2 [1,5]
HAGEMEYER, EVA. 10003 S.E. 8th Street, Bellevue, WA 98004 [1,4,5]
HAHN, WALTHER. Department of German & Russian, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [1,5]
HARMON, RONALD M. Foreign Languages & Literatures, California State Univ., Fullerton, CA 92634 [1,6,9]
HARMS, ALVIN. Department of Romance Studies, Univ. of Calgary, Calgary, ALTA T2N 1N4 [1,3,4]
HARSHENIN, ALEX. Slavonic Studies, Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, V6T 1W5 [2,6]
HASSEN, LEONA L. Department of Modern Languages, North Idaho Coll., Coeur d'Alene, ID 83814 [3,6,13]
HATZANTONIS, EMMANUEL. Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [1,4,6,8]
HAUSMANN, ROBERT B. Department of Linguistics, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [2,5]
HEALY, RUTH CAROL. 8051 S.W. Palatine Hill Rd., Portland, OR 97219 [3,4]
HEGLER, KENNETH D. 711 West Queens Road, North Vancouver, B.C. V7N 2L4 [2,3,4,5]
HERRON, DOUGLAS M. Russian Department, Reed Coll., Portland, OR 97202 [1,11]
HERSCHBACH, ROBERT A. Department of Foreign Languages, Univ. of Puget Sound, Tacoma, WA 98416 [1,5]
HESSE, M. G. Department of Modern Languages, Univ. of Lethbridge, Lethbridge, ALTA [1,2,3,4,5]
HILGAR, MARIE-FRANCE. Department of Foreign Languages, Univ. of Nevada, Las Vegas, NV 89154 [1,4]
HODGES, RENATE. Department of Foreign Languages, Univ. of Puget Sound, Tacoma, WA 98416 [1,3,5]
HOEFERT, SIGFRID. Germanic & Slavic Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G1 [1,5,15]
HOLLERBACH, WOLF. Linguistics & Foreign Languages, Univ. of Alaska, Fairbanks, AK 99701 [1,4,5]
HOOK, LAURA R. 3008 S.W. Nottingham Drive, Portland, OR 97201 [3,5]
HOSFORD, HELGA. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [2,3,5,15]
HULSE, LLOYD K. 2133 S.W. Taylors Ferry Road, Portland, OR 97219 [2,3,6]
HUNT, RAUL and SONIA. 531 Lake Ridge Drive, Nampa, ID 83651 [2,3,6,14]

INGHELS, LEER. Rt. 3 Box 3161, La Grande, OR 97850 [2,3,5]

JACKSON, DUANE. Office of Public Instruction, State Capitol, Helena, MT 59801 [2,3,5,14]
JACKSON, KENNETH DAVID. Department of Spanish & Portuguese, Univ. of Texas, Austin, TX 78712 [1,4,6,9]
JAHN, JUERGEN. Germanic & Slavic Studies, Univ. of Calgary, Calgary, ALTA T2N 1N4 [1,3,5]
JAMISON, JOHN. Lakeside Middle School, 1501 - 10th Avenue E., Seattle, WA 98102 [1,3,7,8]
JELINSKI, JACK B. Department of Modern Languages, Montana State Univ., Bozeman, MT 59715 [1,6]

KENLAN, CHARLES J. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [1,5]
KERR, JOHN AUSTIN JR. Foreign Languages & Lits., Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, IL 60115 [1,3,6,8]
KIMMEL, ARTHUR. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Western Washington Univ., Bellingham, WA 98225 [1,2,4]
KNOX, ROBERT B. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [1,6]
KOENEN, SHIRLEY A. Lewis-Clark State Coll., Clarkston, WA 99403 [1]
KOPF, MARTIN. French Department, Whitman Coll., Walla Walla, WA 99362 [1,4]
KOUBOURLIS, DEMETRIUS and TONI. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Idaho, Moscow, ID 83843 [1,2,11]

LABAT, JOSEPH. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [4]
LADD, MAGDALENA M. Clackamas Community Coll., 19600 S. Molalla Ave., Oregon City, OR 97045 [1,2,3,4,5]
LANDEIRA, RICARDO. Modern & Classical Languages, Univ. of Wyoming, Laramie, WY 82071 [1,6]
LANGE, LOUIS J. Department of Modern Languages, Maple Ridge Secondary School, 21911 - 122 Ave., Maple Ridge, B.C. V2X 3X2 [1,2,3,4,6]
LANGHAMMER, FRANZ. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR 97207 [1,3,5]
LEDDUSIRE, F. E. Humanities, Seattle Pacific Univ., Seattle, WA 98119 [2,3,7,11]
LEONG, ALBERT. Department of German & Russian, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [1,11]
LEVINE, GLORIA. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Oregon State Univ., Corvallis, OR 97331 [1,6]
LIDDELL, PETER G. Germanic Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Victoria, Victoria B.C. V8W 2Y2 [1,5]
LUCHTING, WOLFGANG A. Foreign Languages & Lits., Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [1, 5,6]
LUSETTI, WALTER. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Oregon State Univ., Corvallis, OR 97330 [2,3,6]
LYTLE, JANINE. 515 Elder Street, Nampa, ID 83651 [1,2]

MACDONALD, MICHAEL. Humanities, Seattle Pacific Univ., Seattle, WA 98119 [3,5]
MACIAS, MANUEL JATO. Department of Foreign Languages, Univ. of Portland, Portland, OR 97203 [1,6,8]
McGARRY, ZOE LYNETTE. E. 1832 S. Riverton, C-304, Spokane, WA 99207 [1,3,4,6]
McRILL, PAUL. Seattle Public Schools, 815 - 4th Ave. No., Seattle, WA 98109 [2,3,14]
MALLOFF, STEVE and IRENE. R.R. 1, Grand Forks, B.C. V0H 1H0 [1,3,6]
MALOOF, KATHARINA. Department of Germanics, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,5]
MALUEG, SARA ELLEN. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Oregon State Univ., Corvallis, OR 97331 [1,4]
MARTI, DR. and MRS. RUBEN. 1112 E. 10th, Olympia, WA 98501 [1,3,6]
MARTIN, HORST. Germanic Studies, Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5 [1,3,5]
MARTINEZ, ANTONIO and ADELAIDA. European Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI 96822 [1,3,6]
MATLUCK, BETTY J. and JOSEPH H. 3903 Bailey Lane, Austin, TX 78756 [2,3,6.14]
MATTESON, MARIANNA M. Foreign Languages & Lits., Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [1,6]
MATTINA, ANTHONY. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [2]
MAZUR, GERTRUD S. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [1, 2,3,5]
MEINHOFF, MICHAEL and JOAN. Rt. 2 Box 2467, Apt. 40, La Grande, OR 97850 [2,3,14]
MENKES, MARNY. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Idaho, Moscow, ID 83843 [1,7]
MERRICK, JOHN. 916 S. Canyon, Nampa, ID 83651 [2,3,14]
MILNER, FRANCY S. 5125 S.W. Illinois, Portland, OR 97221 [1,3,4,6]
MINIER-BIRK, SIGYW. Rt. 1 Box 44B, Saint Ignatius, MT 59865 [1,4,6]
MOMBER, HORST. Bellevue Public Schools, Bellevue, WA 98004 [3]
MORRISON, VERONIQUE. Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [3,4,6]
MOSS, PATRICIA G. 509 - 14th St., N.E., Salem, OR 97403 [2,6]
MOSSBERG, CHRISTER L. 3515 Donald Street, Eugene, OR 97405 [1,10]
MOTUT, R. G. Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, ALTA T6G 2E6 [1,2,4,6]

NARCOWICH, D. C. Humanities, Malaspina Coll., Nanaimo, B. C. [1,3,4]
NGATE, JONATHAN. Comparative Literature, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,4,15]
NICCOLI, GABRIEL A. Hispanic & Italian Studies, Univ. of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y2 [1,2,3,8]
NIEDZIELSKI, HENRI. European Languages & Lits., Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI 96822 [2,3,4,14]
NONNENMACHER, PATRICIA J. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812 [1,3,5]
NOSTRAND, HOWARD and FRANCES. Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,3,4]
NOTTO, RONALD A. 1220 S.W. 37th, Corvallis, OR 97330 [3,4]
NUSSBAUM, LAUREEN. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR 97207 [1,4,5]

OCHOA, ANTONIO. State Department of Education, 650 W. State Street, Boise, ID 83720 [1,2,3]
OGUIZA, THOMAS. Department of Foreign Languages, Southern Oregon State Coll., Ashland, OR 97520 [1,6]
OHRTMAN, DENNIS W. 1310 - 9th Avenue, Lewiston, ID 83501 [1,3,6]
OLIVIER, LOUIS and METTE HERMANSEN, Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [1,3,4,10]
O'SWALD, HARRIET P. Department of Modern Languages, Eastern Washington Univ., Cheney, WA 99004 [1,5]
OTTO, CARLIN. Foreign Language Department, Northwest Nazarene Coll., Nampa, ID 83651 [1,6]

PACE, ANTONIO. Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [2]
PADELFORD, VICTOR W. P. O. Box 30639, Seattle, WA 98103 [2,3,6]
PARSHALL, LINDA B. Department of Foreign Languages, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR 97207 [1,5]
PASCAL, PAUL. Classics Department, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,2,3,7]
PATTERSON, DAVID A. Department of Comparative Literature, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [1,4,5,11,15]
PAYNE, BEVERLY. 2116 - 40th E., Seattle, WA 98112 [1,4]
PEREZ-MONTANER, JAIME. Department of Foreign Languages, Lewis & Clark Coll., Portland, OR 97219 [1,6,16]
PERUCK, NELLI A. Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, ALTA T6G 2E6 [1,8]
PETHERBRIDGE, D. L. Faculty of Education, Univ. of Lethbridge, Lethbridge, ALTA T1K 3M4 [1,2,4]
POPE, SHIRLEY. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812 [1,4]
POULSEN, ANTOINETTE A. Foreign Languages & Lits., Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [2,3,4]

POWELL, JOHN. Spring Valley Jr. Sec. School, 350 Zirpick Rd., Kelowna, B.C. V1X 4H3 [3]
POWELL, WARD. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [1,5]
PROBST, GLEN. 1712 Pleasantview Lane, Burley, ID 83318 [3,6.14]

QUINN, BERNARD J. Department of Modern Languages, Montana State Univ., Bozeman, MT 59715 [1,4,16]

RABURA, HORST M. Department of Germanics, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [3,5]
RANGEL-GUERRERO, DANIEL. Foreign Languages & Lits., Western Washington Univ., Bellingham, WA 98225 [1,3,6,8]
READ, W. M. Department of Classics, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [3,7]
REECE, JAMES R. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Idaho, Moscow, ID 83843 [1,5]
REED, MARVIN A. Box 729, Spokane, WA 99210 [1,2,3,4,5]
REES, EARL L. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR 97207 [1,6,16]
GONZALEZ-REICHMUTH, EDILTRUDIS E. Department of Modern Languages, Montana State Univ., Bozeman, MT 59715 [1,6]
REINERT, HARRY. 840 N.E. 82nd, Seattle, WA 98115 [3,5]
REISH, JOSEPH G. Modern & Classical Languages, Western Michigan Univ., Kalamazoo, MI 49008 [1,2,3,4]
RENDALL, STEVEN. Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [1,4]
RIDGES, JANICE R. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [1,4]
RIGGS, LARRY W. European Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu, HA 96822
ROBINSON, ST. JOHN. Department of Foreign Languages, Pacific Lutheran Univ., Tacoma, WA 98447 [1,2,6,8]
ROLFE, O. W. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [2,3,4,6, 13]
ROMBOY, DIETER. Department of Foreign Languages, Central Washington Univ., Ellensburg, WA 98926 [1,5]
ROSEMAN, CHRISTINA HORST. 2209 Minor Avenue E., Seattle, WA 98102 [2,7]
ROSSEL, SVEN H. Scandinavian Department., Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,5,10]
ROWE, GALEN O. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Idaho, Moscow, ID 83843 [1]
ROWLAND, HERBERT. Department of Modern Languages, Eastern Washington Univ., Cheney, WA 99004 [1,3,5]

SABATINI, MARY. Department of Romance Languages, Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, ALTA T6G 2E6 [1,8]
SAWYER, I. Department of Modern Languages, Simon Fraser Univ., Burnaby, B.C. [2,3,4]
SCHACHTER, MUREN. 6836 Arbutus Street, Vancouver, B.C. V6P 5S7
SCHIMMELBUSCH, GISELA H. Highline Community Coll., Midway, WA 98031 [1,2,3,5,16]
SCHMALZ, GUENTER G. Department of Modern Languages, Montana State Univ., Bozeman, MT 59715 [1,2, 4,5]
SCHMIDT, TERRIE. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [1,5]
SCHMIEDEL, DONALD E. Department of Foreign Languages Univ., of Nevada, Las Vegas, NV 89154 [1,6]
SCHMITT, JACK. Department of Spanish & Portuguese, California State Univ., Long Beach, CA 90840 [1,2,6,8]
SEHMSDORF, HENNING. Department of Scandinavian, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,10]
SEIGNEURET, JEAN-CHARLES. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Washington State Univ., Pullman, WA 99164 [2,4]
SJOGREN, CHRISTINE. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Oregon State Univ., Corvallis, OR 97331 [1,5]
SMITH, CHARLOTTE K. 19820 - 4th Ave., So., Seattle, WA 98148 [1,3,4,5]
SMITH, STEPHEN C. Box 1384, Omak, WA 98841 [1,3,4,6]
SPANGLER, CARL D. Modern & Classical Languages, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, WA 98447 [3,7]
SPRONK, JOHANNES M. Humanities, Eastern Oregon State Coll., La Grande, OR 97850 [1,2,4,13]
STARK, JAMES. Department of Foreign Languages, Seattle Univ., Seattle, WA 98122 [1,3,5]
STEFANINI, RUGGERO. Department of Italian, Univ. of California, Berkeley, CA 94720 [1,2,8]
STEVENSON, ELIZABETH E. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Idaho, Moscow, ID 83843 [1,3,4]
STOVALL, JOAN G. Department of Modern Languages, Montana State Univ., Bozeman, MT 59715 [2,3,5]
STRUC, ROMAN. Germanic & Slavic Studies, Univ. of Calgary, Calgary, ALTA T2N 1N4 [1,5,11]
SULLIVAN, JOHN H. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Idaho, Moscow, ID 83843 [1]
SWENSON, J. ERIC. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR 97207 [1,2, 3,4]
SWENSON, RODNEY. Department of Foreign Languages, Pacific Lutheran Univ., Tacoma, WA 98447 [2,3, 5,14]

TALBOTT, BRIAN L. 103 Courthouse, Yakima, WA 98901 [2,6,14]
TCHALEKIAN, CHAVARCHE and MARY KILMER-TCHALEKIAN. 2845 Adelaide Avenue, Victoria, B.C. V9A 2L3 [1,4,6]
TUSON, SUSANNE. East 10603 - 4th Avenue, Spokane, WA 99206 [3]

VALDESPINO, LUIS. Department of Foreign Languages, Central Washington Univ., Ellensburg, WA 98926 [1,6]
VALVERDE, LUIS J. 127 E. Braemere Rd., Boise, ID

VERZASCONI, RAY. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Oregon State Univ., Corvallis, OR 97331 [1,6, 8,15]
VISTICA, SISTER RITA ROSE. Faculty House, Marylhurst, OR 97036 [1,4]
VITINS, IEVA. Department of Russian, Reed College, Portland, OR 97202 [1,11]

WADE, SANDRA. 5188 Coronado Avenue, Oakland, CA 94618 [1,2,3,4,5,6,11]
WAHL, PAULINE. Department of Romance Studies, Univ. of Calgary, Calgary, ALTA T2N 1N4 [1,3, 4,8]
WALLACE, KENNETH G. 2710 "S" Street, Vancouver, WA 98663 [1,2,3,6,8,14]
WALROND, LAWRENCE M. 3872 McIsaac Rd., Nanaimo, B.C. [2,3,4,6]
WANG, JOHN B. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [1,6,12]

WARME, LARS G. Department of Scandinavian, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 [1,4,5,10]
WASHBURN, LUCIA YANG. Department of Chinese & Japanese, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [2,3,12]
WEBKING, GERALD W. 1952 Lambert, Eugene, OR 97405 [3,5]
WELLER, CELIA E. Spanish Department, Whitman Coll. Walla Walla, WA 99362 [1,5,6,8,9]
WILBERGER, CAROLYN. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR 97207 [1,4]
WILLIAMS, SUSANNE. 10603 E. 4th, Spokane, WA 99206 [1,4,6]
WISHARD, ARMIN. Colorado Coll., Colorado Springs, CO 80903 [1,3,5]
WOLLET, LORETTA. 4006 S.E. Long Street, Portland, OR 97202 [3,11]
WOODRUFF, ROSEMARY. #211-1010 Sixth Avenue New Westminster, B.C. V3M 2B8 [3]
YARWOOD, EDMUND. Department of Modern Languages, Eastern Washington Univ., Cheney, WA 99004 [1,11]
ZAGO, ESTER. Department of French, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80302 [1,3]
ZANCANELLA, NARCISO. Department of Foreign Languages, Univ. of Portland, Portland, OR 97203 [1,6]
ZOLA, MEGUIDO. Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser Univ., Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6 [3,4]
ZUCK, VIRPI. Department of German & Russian, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 [1,10]
ZYLAWY, ROMAN. Foreign Languages & Literatures, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59801 [1]

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Department of Modern Languages
OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY
Corvallis, Oregon 97331

Departments of Foreign Languages & Literatures
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
Eugene, Oregon 97403

Department of Foreign Languages & Literatures
UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA
Missoula, Montana 59801

Department of Modern Languages & Literatures
EASTERN WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
Cheney, Washington 99004

Department of Germanic & Slavic Studies
UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Calgary, Alberta, Canada

Department of French
UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA
Victoria, B.C., Canada

Humanities Division
SEATTLE PACIFIC COLLEGE
Seattle, Washington 98119

Department of Foreign Languages
LEWIS AND CLARK COLLEGE
Portland, Oregon 97219

Department of Foreign Languages
PACIFIC UNIVERSITY
Forest Grove, Oregon 97116

Department of Romance Languages
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

EVERETT COMMUNITY COLLEGE
P.O. Box 478
Everett, Washington 98206

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